# College Board Review

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# College Board Review

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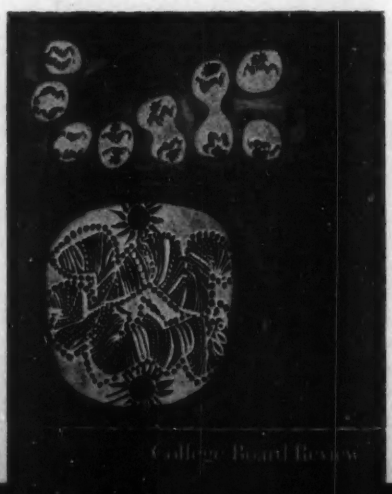


Illustrations: Dan Shapiro uses a schema of genes within chromosomes within cells for his cover design on the theme of "Ability" to suggest both its origin and its mystery. Within the issue, photographer George Zimbel portrays the testing of an ability (page 4), while artists Vincent Malta (pages 20 through 23), Marilyn Goffstein (page 19), and Stanley Wyatt illustrate articles also ultimately concerned with those powers that education seeks to develop.

# *NEWS OF THE COLLEGE BOARD*

## International admissions study

***President Bowles to direct:*** Frank H. Bowles, president of the College Board, will direct a world-wide study of admission to college. Made possible by a recent $250,000 Carnegie Corporation grant to the Board, the "international study of university admission" is expected to take two years to complete.

In order to direct the study, Mr. Bowles has been given a leave of absence by the trustees of the College Board beginning this summer. In his absence the Board staff will be headed by an acting president whose appointment will be announced in the spring.

The study will be conducted under the sponsorship of the College Board. While making it, Mr. Bowles and a small technical staff will maintain offices in Paris at UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. In addition, the study will be supervised by an international commission to be appointed jointly by UNESCO and the International Association of Universities, which also has offices in Paris.

***Pioneering venture:*** The study is intended to bring together for the first time a significant body of facts on university admission in the various regions of the world. In examining theory as well as practice, it is expected to investigate such matters as: existing facilities for higher education; equality of educational opportunity and increasing demands for it; the identification and development of academic talent; types and standards of preparation for university study; how academic standards are established and determined; what changes are occurring in national and regional needs and how these are reflected in changing programs; and provisions for educational guidance and other phases of student personnel work.

It is hoped that the study will lead to continuing revision of admissions theory and practice, and that it will suggest patterns for the development of inter-university programs to support and improve admissions practices.

In announcing the study to the member institutions and associations of the College Board, B. Alden Thresher, director of admissions at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and chairman of the Board, declared that "the trustees recognize the international importance and implications of the new project and are pleased that the Board has been selected as the vehicle for the study."

## Writing sample administration

***Details proposed:*** Detailed arrangements for the introduction of a writing sample exercise into the College Board admissions testing program were recently recommended for consideration by the Board's committee on examinations and board of trustees.

As proposed by the ad hoc committee on the project, the one-hour exercise would be offered in the afternoon of the regular Board test dates in December and January. On the December test date afternoon it would be given at the same time as the Achievement Tests, while it would be given alone on the January date afternoon since Achievement Tests are not offered in January.

According to the group's recommendation, a committee of examiners would be appointed to prepare the exercise questions. A single question would be asked all students on any one test date. On the question, the student would write a one-hour composition. Without grading or scoring the composition, the College Board would send one copy of it to the student's school and up to three copies to colleges specified by the student. No central file of copies would be kept by the Board.

The proposal was developed in response to approval of the program in principle by vote of the Board last fall. It incorporated suggestions made by the member colleges in a recent survey. At least 100 Board member colleges would probably require or recommend the writing sample.

## Regional meetings begin

***Topics for discussion:*** Matters suggested for consideration at this year's series of one and two-day regional meetings of College Board members were presented in a recent memorandum to the representatives and guests attending. The series of meetings opened in February. It will close with the customary June meeting of the West Coast members in San Francisco.

Among topics proposed for discussion at the meetings are: the possibility of early publication by the Board of a class characteristics handbook; changes and wider use of the Candidates Reply Date Agreement; improved prediction of applicant "fall-out" and possible preparation of predictive indices by the Board; introduction of a writing sample exercise; January achievement testing; possible extension of membership eligibility provisions; and the future of the Advanced Placement Program.

## College Board offices moved

***Remain near Columbia:*** After having been located on the Columbia University campus since the founding of the College Board in 1900, the offices of the Board were moved in January to a new building that adjoins the campus.

The move was occasioned by staff expansion and by the expected demolition within the next few years of its

former quarters at 425 West 117 Street in New York City. The offices of the Board are now located on the second floor of The Interchurch Center building at Riverside Drive and 120 Street. A 19-story modern office building intended primarily to house a variety of church-related service organizations, the Center opened this fall.

The new mailing address for the Board's main offices is 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York. The telephone number, UNiversity 5-9500, remains unchanged. Regional offices of the Board were opened this fall at the addresses given on the inside front cover.

## ETS vice presidency created

*For College Board activities:* The Educational Testing Service recently established the position of vice president in charge of College Board programs and appointed Henry S. Dyer, who had been vice president for research and advisory services at ETS, to the office.

In the new position, Dr. Dyer will be responsible for all activities conducted for the Board by ETS. The independent, nonprofit agency carries out all administrative and operational functions of College Board programs under the Board's direction.

Before accepting the post of vice president for research at ETS in 1954, Dr. Dyer had been associate director of the College Board. While with the Board he directed its research activities and wrote extensively on the use and interpretation of Board test scores in college guidance and admissions.

He had been director of the office of tests at Harvard University until joining the Board staff in 1952. At Harvard he had also served as assistant to the dean of the faculty of arts and sciences, as a member of that faculty, and as a member of the board of freshman advisers.

## Gum-backed score reports due

*For schools' convenience:* For the convenience of schools that report scores on the College Board admissions tests to their students, a new form of school score report will be used by the Board beginning with reports for the tests to be given next December.

In the new form, scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test and the Achievement Tests will be reported in duplicate rosters listing the students' names and test scores. The roster lists will be perforated and backed with a pressure-sensitive adhesive. This will enable schools to detach name-and-score labels for each student from the lists. One set of labels may then be affixed to interpretive leaflets for students supplied by the Board. A second set of labels may be affixed to the students' school record forms.

Schools reacted favorably to this form of score report when it was introduced for the Board's Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test, which was first given last October.

Beginning with the admissions tests of last January, a duplicate of the present school report form, a card which is not gum-backed, has been sent to schools.

## Nebraska misconstrued

*Geographical correction:* The state of Nebraska was incorrectly listed with the states served by the western regional office of the Board in the list of 50 member schools given on page 3 of the last issue of the *College Board Review*. Nebraska lies within the area served by the Board's midwestern regional office, as correctly shown by the map on page 4 of that issue.

## 110 colleges issue profiles

*To describe freshman classes:* Statements characterizing their freshman classes are being issued for guidance counselors by 110 of the 287 member colleges of the College Board, according to a survey made in November. A similar survey made a year before had found that freshman class profiles were being used by 78 of the member colleges, which then numbered 250.

Varying in form from duplicated letters to printed booklets, the class characteristics statements generally include such kinds of information as the numbers of students applying, accepted, and enrolled, and the ranges of secondary school class rank and grade averages, College Board test scores, and home states represented among the freshman class. An accompanying explanation of the college's admissions policy is usually included to help counselors interpret the factual data.

The 110 member colleges issuing class characteristics statements are:

Agnes Scott College
Alfred University
Allegheny College
Amherst College
Assumption College
Bard College
Beaver College
Bennington College
Bowdoin College
Brandeis University
Bryn Mawr College
Bucknell University
Caldwell College
California Institute of Technology
Centre College of Kentucky
Chatham College
Colgate University
Colorado College
Columbia College (N.Y.)
Cooper Union
Cornell University
Dartmouth College
Davidson College
Denison University
Dickinson College
Drew University
Duke University
Earlham College
Fordham University
Furman University
Georgetown University
Georgian Court College
Gettysburg College
Goucher College
Grinnell College
Hamilton College
Haverford College
Hobart College and William Smith College
Hofstra College
Johns Hopkins University
Juniata College
Kalamazoo College
Kenyon College
Lafayette College
Lake Erie College
Lawrence College
Lehigh University
Manhattan College
Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart
Marymount College (N.Y.)
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Middlebury College
Mills College
Monmouth College (Ill.)
Mount Holyoke College
Newark College of Engineering
Northeastern University
Occidental College
Ohio Wesleyan University
Pembroke College in Brown University
Pomona College
Princeton University
Queens College
Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Reed College
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute
Rice Institute
Ripon College
Rollins College
Rosary College
Saint Joseph's College (Pa.)
St. Joseph's College for Women
Saint Mary's College (Ind.)
Sarah Lawrence College
Smith College
Southwestern at Memphis
Stanford University
Stetson University
Stevens Institute of Technology
Swarthmore College
Sweet Briar College
Transylvania College
Trinity College (Conn.)
Tufts University
Tulane University
Union College (N.Y.)
United States Air Force Academy
United States Military Academy
University of Chicago
University of Colorado
University of Michigan
University of North Carolina
University of Redlands
University of Rochester
University of the South
University of Vermont
University of Virginia
Vassar College
Washington College
Washington University
Wellesley College
Wells College
Wesleyan University
Western College for Women
Wheaton College (Ill.)
Wheaton College (Mass.)
Wheelock College
Worcester Polytechnic Institute
Yale University
Young Harris College

# *COLLEGE BOARD RESEARCH NOTES*

## Biographical inventory tested

***Meets considerable success:*** Using routine biographical questions of a kind that could be obtained on admissions application blanks, three research investigators at Fordham University have developed a device that can predict college performance as defined by both grades and personal factors with considerable success. Their criteria of college success not only included the usual ones of academic achievement but emphasized nonintellective attributes of the students as well. The investigation was conducted by Anne Anastasi, Martin J. Meade, and Alexander A. Schneiders.

In the study, a "biographical inventory" questionnaire form was developed for use with freshmen entering Fordham College. The questionnaire covered such information as the number and type of high school activities, anticipated college activities, favorite subjects, study habits, vocational goals, hobbies, and outside reading, as well as age, parents' marital status, father's occupation, and the like.

***Judges set criteria:*** To establish criteria in the study, a committee of three judges evaluated the degree to which members of the junior class achieved the college's objectives and displayed those intellectual and character traits which the college was trying to develop. Three groups of 50 students each were then identified as "positive," "average," or "negative" groups.

According to the study report, the positive group represented the type of person the college wants to develop; the average group, those making a satisfactory adjustment to college but showing no outstanding characteristics; and the negative group, those giving concrete evidence of emotional maladjustments or antisocial behavior and who were generally unsatisfactory.

Biographical inventory items that were on file for these students were analyzed, and special weights were assigned to the items that discriminated best among members of the positive, average, or negative groups. These items and weightings were investigated for members of a new junior class, again with the three groups selected by judges, and a final scoring key was prepared.

***Compared with tests:*** Other tests were examined to see whether they differentiated between the groups as effectively as the biographical inventory. Among these were the College Board Scholastic Aptitude Test, the American Council on Education Psychological Examination, the Cooperative English Test, the Cooperative General Achievement Tests, and some standard personality measures. None of these proved as discriminating as the biographical inventory for classifying students into the criterion groups.

Technically expressed, the investigators found that cross-validation on the second set of 150 juniors yielded validity coefficients of .548, .346, and .256 (all significant at the .01 level) for positive-negative, positive-average, and average-negative group comparisons, respectively. These correlations were found to be consistently higher than those obtained with SAT Verbal and SAT Mathematical scores against the study's criteria.

The investigators conclude that the analysis of biographical information, which has proven useful in predicting performance in such areas as life insurance selling and various Air Force specialties, can be valuable in predicting the adjustment and accomplishment of college students.

Plans have been made for publication of the study report by the College Board, and details will be announced shortly before publication.

## New research reports available

***On varied researches:*** Copies of three recently completed study reports are available to interested educators.

"The Reliability and Validity of a One-Hour French Test of Reading and Listening Ability," a report prepared by Eleanor S. Weiss of ETS, summarizes a study which demonstrates, on the basis of the performance of 937 freshmen studying French in four colleges, that satisfactory reliability and validity for separate reading and listening scores can be obtained from an hour's testing of students who had had two or more years of French in secondary school and were then continuing that language in college.

A second ETS report, "Differences in School Means on the College Board's Experimental Tests of Developed Ability," presents the findings of a study by John W. French. It shows that differences in average SAT scores for students from 41 schools do not account for differences among these schools on students' average scores on the Tests of Developed Ability. The report indicates that where school averages on the TDA science tests are higher than would be predicted by SAT scores, they exist in relation to the popularity of science courses in the school, and that the number of students studying American history in a school is reflected in the school's average on the social studies tests.

A highly technical account of differences in personality and aptitude test scores between faculty-nominated "ideal" students and students not so designated is given in the report of a study by Donald R. Brown of Bryn Mawr College under the joint sponsorship of the College Board and the Mellon Foundation. The report is entitled "Nonintellective Factors and Faculty Nominations of Ideal Students."

BY KENNETH B. CLARK

# *Discrimination and the disadvantaged*

It is increasingly clear that in the contemporary world, higher education is no longer a luxury to be enjoyed only by the upper and upper middle classes. American democracy may well claim the major credit for precipitating this change. Historically, the major contribution which America has made to education and its goals was in the development of a system of democratic public education wherein the educational process became a vehicle of upward class mobility, thereby reinforcing the American concept of class fluidity, if not classlessness.

Paradoxically, it may be that the past successes and validity of this American approach to education have led to the development of new patterns of educational class cleavages. Some of those who succeeded in raising their own social and economic status through the process of democratic public education, now seem to doubt that the present group of the educationally underprivileged can profit equally from the advantages of education.

When these doubts are held by individuals who have obtained the power of decision and control of fiscal and educational policies and procedures, then they effectively block many disadvantaged children from the benefits of a vigorous and stimulating education. Such blocks perpetuate the disadvantages of the already disadvantaged. Of equal importance is the fact that such doubts, when implemented, rob the society of the potential intellectual contributions of these disadvantaged young people.

The arguments in favor of obtaining maximum and effective educational opportunity for every individual and the need to remove all arbitrary and irrelevant barriers of race, nationality, religion, or low social and economic background from the attainment of this goal are not now sentimental. In the middle of the twentieth century it is an imperative fact of life that any society which is to remain viable must raise the educational standards for all of its people, and must exploit and use constructively high intellectual potential wherever it is to be found.

Probably of least significance is the popular contention that this is a matter of national prestige which is now being challenged by the aggressive scientific and technological competition of the Russians. This emphasis may have immediate popular and political appeal but does not answer the more fundamental educational questions raised by our rapidly changing society.

### *The dangers of leisure*

We must discover, train, and utilize human intellectual creativity with maximum efficiency because life in the modern world demands this. It is no longer possible to assume the many intricate and complex obligations and to make responsible decisions as a functioning citizen in a democracy without a level of education and understanding significantly higher than that which could sustain a dynamic democracy in past generations. Unless we are content to permit "democracy" to become merely a term which provides us with some flexible and empty verbal propaganda symbols, its substance must be obtained by extending and deepening the understanding of the people. If the people are truly to make the types of choices which assert their freedom and responsibility, then they must be educated.

A more serious, and less obvious, aspect of this problem is concerned with the relationship between increasing automation and the problem of leisure. It is in seeking a creative approach to the problem of increased leisure that one is confronted with the significant educational problem of how to provide large numbers of previously disadvantaged individuals with the opportunity for maximum educational stimulation. It might be helpful to a

**Time: 10:25 a.m. on any College Board test date. Atmosphere: intently quiet. Place: nearly halfway through the Scholastic Aptitude Test, where the looming young man stops to ponder a question in one of the test's Mathematical sections. Purpose: for him, to meet requirements; for the colleges, to have him demonstrate in part his potential for college studies.**

recognition of the full future magnitude of this problem to state the following propositions, which future data or events might either support or refute:

1. With increased automation there will no longer be a restricted minority leisure class. The majority of individuals in this type of society will have leisure and will have the need to utilize that leisure creatively.

2. A related but somewhat independent fact is that with increased automation there will not only be an increase in leisure, but there will also be a decrease in the number of individuals who are required to handle the remaining unskilled and menial tasks. With rapid population increase and the high probability of the reduction of the proportion, if not the absolute number, of individuals required for unskilled or menial work, the dynamic pressure for increased and more meaningful education will be felt and must be met by our society.

3. Increased leisure and a smaller proportion of the population engaged in unskilled or menial work are social and economic facts whose educational implications will be further complicated by the probably irreversible trend toward higher and higher wages and higher and higher living standards for the masses of people who earn their living through wages. The psychological implication of this trend toward higher wages and a higher material standard of living is that it inevitably leads toward a raising of the social class aspirations and a quest for all of the other contextual symbols of upper-class status. Certainly even in our society, which frequently has been characterized as essentially anti-intellectual, educational achievement is among the fairly important symbols of class mobility.

As the class aspirations of increasing numbers of the previously working class groups are raised—as the image of themselves changes to conform to the realities of the social and economic changes, and as their expectations and demands for a more personally satisfying use of leisure are raised—their demands for a more substantively satisfying life for their children will exert a tremendous pressure on our educational institutions. It is questionable whether this type of pressure can be met adequately in the future by the proliferation of community colleges, junior colleges, or other temporary stopgaps.

Without some systematic study of this problem and its eventual resolution in terms of the inevitable social realities and pressures, leisure will become a major psychological problem for individuals; a personal threat and a symbol of personal emptiness. Under these circumstances, one would have to expect that the fruits of our technology would be increased personal and social tensions, frustrations, bigotry, hostilities, and meaninglessness.

### *The question of standards*

Rising pressure for higher education from the masses may be the symptom of health. This demand must be met not only as a societal safety valve, but because—and this may be a vested interest statement—education provides a most stable basis for constructive, creative, and socially beneficial use of leisure. If our educational policy makers and our educational institutions understand and are able to meet this challenging pressure, then they will contribute significantly to the development of the phenomenon of a *majority* leisure class of the future, which will displace the minority leisure class of the past.

An increasingly larger proportion of the children of the present working classes—the present educationally disadvantaged groups—will have to have this need for higher education met unless the society is willing to run the grave risks of the consequences of personal frustration in the majority of its population. Some of these risks are mentioned here, not in a spirit of pessimistic alarm, but as an illustration of the grave social consequences of failure to meet the educational needs of presently disadvantaged groups either by denying their existence or by holding to outmoded class-determined concepts of education.

Among the consequences which could be anticipated are: increased delinquency and criminality; intensification of bigotry, provincialism, and intergroup tensions and hostility; increased chances of successful manipulation of the primitive passions of the masses by political cynics, fanatics, or demagogues; increased incidences of emotional instability, particularly among the members of those upwardly mobile groups whose aspirations are being blocked, and other symptoms of personal and social disorganization.

In spite of what seems to be a compelling set of arguments to exploit more efficiently the intellectual potential of the masses of young people, there are still many individuals, including some academicians and professional educators, who see grave dangers in this inevitable invasion of the cloistered, ivy-covered halls by the hordes of sons and daughters of lower-class families. They argue that such democratization of higher education will lower and dilute academic standards and will make higher education in America more of a meaningless façade than it is already. Various personal or impersonal devils have been identified as being responsible for this process of democratization dilution which, it is contended, has already reduced higher education to that level of mass mediocrity so successfully exploited—and probably maintained—by our mass media.

Without regard to the truth or justice of this analysis—and restraining our impulse to join in the seductive

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Kenneth B. Clark is associate professor of psychology at City College of New York.

**The search for talent**

The accompanying article is one of 12 addresses on the theme of the search for academically talented students that were presented at the College Board's Seventh Colloquium on College Admissions held last fall.

The addresses will be published this spring in the seventh volume of the *College Admissions* series.

magical ritual of exorcising the particular responsible devil—there seems little evidence in support of the conclusion that lowering of standards is a necessary or inevitable concomitant of extending the benefits of higher education to a larger proportion of presently disadvantaged groups. Certainly the experience of unquestioned academic success of the municipal colleges of the city of New York—colleges which were founded to provide a tuition-free education to the disadvantaged groups of the past generations—refutes this argument that a more democratic higher education would necessarily be less effective academic education.

Where the dilution process has occurred, it can be explained in more matter of fact and less class preferential terms. Among the possible explanations is the factor of conscious or unconscious bias on the part of those educators who believe and state that they cannot maintain the same educational standards for the children of the working classes that they maintained for the children of the previously more privileged classes. Often such class biases come under the guise of good, humanitarian intentions and in the form of "modern" educational theory. An example of this type of approach on the elementary and secondary school level is the contention that these schools must provide the types of curricula which will meet the needs and fit the background and expectations of the individual child.

Implementing this type of assumption on the elementary school level results in an insidious type of educational relativity, which by its nature makes it difficult if not impossible to maintain stable educational standards. It may also dam up at the source the academic potential of undetermined numbers of these children for whom incorrect, superficial, or premature judgments concerning their educational needs and potentials were made. Furthermore this type of assumption leaves many questions unanswered or unasked:

1. Who is to determine the educational needs of a child?

2. At what time in the child's life can this determination be most accurately made?

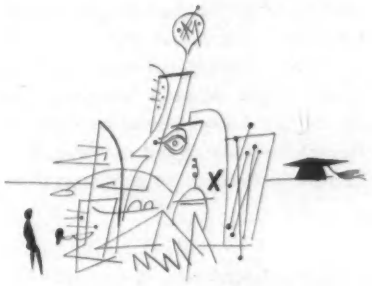
3. On the basis of what criteria or in terms of what frame of reference is such a determination to be made?

4. What is the basis in evidence for the belief that different types of children of the same general level of intelligence require different types of education at the elementary or secondary school level?

5. What role do racial, social class, and other types of bias play in determining the type of education provided for different groups of children?

6. Are the intellectual abilities of a given child likely to be submerged in the preconceptions held about the group to which he belongs?

It is not difficult to see the way in which such assumptions, when held and implemented by decision-making educators, could result in the public schools becoming instruments in the "concretization" and intensification of class cleavages rather than continuing their



traditional role as vehicles of upward class mobility. The dilution of standards—or imposing the contradiction of relative standards—is the chief factor in this process.

If educational institutions are to meet the needs of our contemporary society and provide the necessary education for a significantly larger proportion of our population, they can only do so by maintaining and raising, not lowering, educational standards. Not only is it not necessary or inevitable that these standards be lowered, but indeed the modern demands for a broader base and wider participation in the educational process may well provide the opportunity to *raise* these standards realistically.

To establish the type of educational standards which at the same time fulfill the basic purposes and functions of education and are also compatible with contemporary realities, requires a ruthless re-examination of our prevailing standards, assumptions, and procedures. We must determine which ones are relevant only to the past leisure class concept of education—having no substantive value save that of class symbolism—and which ones are so fundamental to the educational process, so essential to the development of the truly educated person, as to be indispensible.

### *Blocks to the disadvantaged*

The form must be discarded while the substance is retained if for no other reason than that there is not enough energy, money, facilities, or personnel to maintain both. This necessary pruning process may well result in an intensification, strengthening, and solidification of educational standards as a corollary to the demanded democratic expansion of educational opportunities.

This discursive discussion of some of the factors involved in an understanding of the specific problem of the need of our society to provide every child with the opportunity to obtain the highest level of education of which he is capable has not met the central question directly. What are some of the specific attitudes and social pressures which block the most efficient exploitation of the intellectual potential of children from disadvantaged groups?

For purposes of this discussion, disadvantaged children may be defined as those children who come from families whose social and economic level is generally recognized or accepted as underprivileged. These are generally working class families who occupy the lower levels of the social hierarchy and are members of racial and national minorities who are generally rejected, stigmatized, or relegated to the lower occupational, residential, and economic levels in the society, or both.

These are the groups who are seen and treated as coming from the other side of the railroad tracks; they are believed to have low educational aspirational levels, no intellectual interests or motivation, little regard for books; they are believed to have no educational family traditions and minimal cultural or artistic interests. It is further believed that whatever interests these children and their families have in education is restricted to the con-

crete, practical, vocational type of education whose utility can be perceived immediately and exploited soon after training.

Probably one of the most insidious patterns of attitudes and inhibiting forms of social pressure which has prevented a more efficient exploitation of the intellectual resources of the children of these disadvantaged groups is the persistence of this stereotyped image of their intellectual and educational limitations.

*Questions for research*

If these children, as a group, are seen as so intellectually inert that they cannot possibly profit from an academic curriculum—and if on the basis of this belief they are given a less demanding curriculum than that given to the more privileged—then their academic achievement will in fact be lower. Robert Merton's concept of the self-fulfilling prophecy applies in this situation with personally tragic and socially devastating validity.

If one grants that these impressions of the educational limitations of the socially deprived groups have some basis in reality, among the many questions which remain to be answered by systematic research are:

1. In what specific ways does "cultural deprivation" or an "underprivileged home background" actually affect the educational process in the classroom?

2. What proportion of children from disadvantaged or deprived backgrounds could profit from a high-standard education in spite of the reality of their disadvantages?

Certainly these questions should be answered by systematic and controlled research rather than by continued speculation and continued repetitions of impressions and preconceptions. These problems are now too crucial for the total society to be left on the level of the intuitive and answered in terms of untested assumptions and biases. The well-known "43 Project" in New York City is providing some specific answers to some aspects of these problems. The contemplated Ford Foundation extension of a study and project initiated by the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students might, if properly designed and executed, also provide some additional answers. Some funds might soon be provided to study the specific ways in which the "low" cultural level of the home or the immediate community interferes with the child's ability to learn to read.

The importance of finding the answers to these seemingly simple questions is seen in the fact that "cultural deprivation" and "poor home background" are most frequently offered as reasons why children from disadvantaged groups do not do well in academic subjects and therefore should not be expected to meet high academic standards.

Among the more obvious pressures which block, at present, the discovery, training, and rise of the intellectually gifted among disadvantaged groups are the following social attitudes and conditions: class-determined parental disinterest in or disapproval of academic education; low motivation and lack of understanding of the value of higher education; the social and economic realities of lower status life in America which might demand foregoing the luxury of a college education for even the intellectually gifted of these children; a pervasive, pragmatic anti-intellectualism which might be even more concretely operative among lower status groups in our society; the effects of discrimination in limiting the opportunity of a minority group child to use effectively an education; the class-determined disadvantages or handicaps inherent in standardized tests of academic aptitude or intellectual potential. These factors have been discussed many times and have become part of the folklore of individuals concerned with the education of the disadvantaged.

We can, therefore, concern ourselves with more subtle and complicated factors which seem to be operative in blocking the academic potential of children of stigmatized or rejected groups. Systematic studies of the psychosocial development of these children reveal that quite early in their lives—at the primary grades—they are burdened with conflicts and ambivalence about self, feelings of inferiority, and, at times, self-hatred. These children are required to develop various mechanisms of defense in an attempt to protect their personalities from external and internal assaults.

The educational implications of this inner turmoil should not be too difficult to perceive and study. Burdened as they are by these feelings of inferiority and crucial ego conflicts and the necessity to develop protective patterns of behavior, it becomes understandable why so many of these children seem psychologically unable to profit from a normal school experience.

It would seem that schools could compensate for the psychological burdens of these children by understanding the nature and basis of the problem; seeing the relationship between these social psychodynamic problems and the learning process; and providing for these children the type of educational atmosphere, stimulation, challenge, and acceptance which would give them concrete experiences of personal accomplishments and success. Such ego-building experiences cannot be obtained through dilution of standards, condescension, stereotyping, and certainly not by continued rejection.

The essence of the psychological and related educational problem of these children appears to be the problem of identity—the image of themselves which develops from the reality of their experiences in the home and in the immediate and larger community and which may or may not be reinforced by their experiences in the school and with their teachers. Those children who are left with a negative image of self are not likely to be motivated toward positive academic achievement. This seems to be true without regard to the level of actual or potential intelligence. Children who are told directly or indirectly that they

are doomed to failure are not likely to accept and function in terms of the values of the surrogates of the rejecting middle class group. And certainly academic achievement, if not depth of understanding, is high in the hierarchy of middle class values and status symbols.

Eventually, academicians will have to face forthrightly the fact that academic aspirations, achievement, and creativity are not only a function of intellect but in a more complex and definitive way a function of the individual's image of himself—what he has been told about himself, what is expected of him, and what he has accepted as the essence of his identity from childhood through adolescence. Only this type of confused, complex relationship between expectation and social ego learning could account for the provocatively high proportion of suburbia's children who go to college like lemmings swimming doggedly to blind destruction.

Compare this awesome phenomenon with the disturbingly low proportion of workers' children who go to college. The average differences in IQ between these two groups could not account for the extent of this difference. A more plausible explanation would seem to be the fact that the children of professional parents, suburbia's children, have built into their ego image—their functional identity—the concept of the inevitability of college. Similarly the children of rejected minority groups have built into their identity and have an image of themselves as academically inadequate. This concept of academic inadequacy, if sown early enough and nurtured by experience, does not remain a mere psychological reality but becomes the reality.

### *Deprivation of the privileged*

Not all of the pressures which block the full utilization of the intellectual potential of children of the disadvantaged groups can be understood or seen in perspective by concentrating our attention only on the plight of the disadvantaged. Among the more subtle pressures are those which directly reflect the type of education now being provided for children of the privileged status.

In our independent schools and in our better urban and suburban high schools tremendous emphasis is now being placed on college preparatory, academic courses. The standing of these schools and perhaps the tenure of their principals are determined realistically by the demands of parents for demonstration of the ability of the school to send a substantial number, if not all, of its graduates to top, middle, or near-middle colleges. In spite of the persistent and increasing number of critics, the academic standards and curriculum of these schools are as high as required by the admissions requirements of the desired colleges. Educational needs are gauged in terms of college admissions requirements. College preparatory tutoring courses, advanced honor courses, and preparation for the College Board examinations are the serious and realistic business dominating the junior and senior years of the students in these schools.

No one with a practical and realistic interest in maintaining and raising academic standards in America could seriously object to these concessions to contemporary reality on the part of our better secondary schools. The hectic and fragmented approach to knowledge which this approach might result in is another problem which is most difficult to solve and which our colleges and greatest universities have not yet solved.

Even the fact that the widespread dependence upon objective, standardized test results as the crucial index of the students' future academic success —or even more important, the basis for predicting the quality of his creative contribution in life—leaves many problems unsolved. The fact that this dependence provides privileged children with a clear competitive advantage over their disadvantaged peers does not seem the most disturbing inadequacy in the education of our advantaged children.

The most practical and imperative educational demand of our times is an extension and deepening of man's understanding of man. It is now clear to some observers that it is not enough for our schools to turn out students who are intellectually equipped to master the intricacies of mathematics, sciences, and languages but who are awkward, confused, and uncomfortable among people who differ in customs, color, or religion.

Our schools are no longer able to ignore the outstanding new reality of our times; namely, that there are no longer master races and servant races. An education that prepares young people, intentionally or not, for one or the other of these roles is no longer realistic or adaptive. Secondary schools that prepare for college students who lack social sensitivity and insight; who are burdened with a lack of empathy and a callous or oblivious disregard for the humanity and dignity of others superficially unlike themselves; and who are constricted by anachronistic provincialism and chauvinism—must be considered inadequate.

This is true in spite of the fact that the signs of the educated man which these students lack are not at present measurable by a college admissions test. The logic and imperatives of our times demand that these essential aspects of the education of our children no longer be left to chance. They must be faced and solved by the responsible educators who have assumed the task of preparing our children for the present and future world.

Failure to fulfill this responsibility leaves our privileged children ironically most disadvantaged. This disadvantage of our more privileged children prolongs the disadvantages of our underprivileged children. Another compelling reality of our times is the inextricability of the destiny of all of the groups which comprise our nation and the world. This fact is the most challenging pressure on all of our children and on all responsible educational institutions.

BY JULIAN C. STANLEY

# *College studies and college life in Belgium*

**Rigid lectures and year-end oral examinations enable students to memorize a year's work in a month—and pass with honors**

The small, relatively prosperous country of Belgium, with a population of nine million and a geographical area roughly that of Maryland, has four universities and approximately 18 specialized institutions of collegiate rank. During the academic year 1956-57, 21,147 men and 4,590 women were enrolled for full-time study in these 22 schools;[1] nearly half of them at the Catholic University of Louvain, 15 miles east of Brussels.[2]

Though all four universities are heavily subsidized by the Belgian government and their curricula are prescribed by law, only two (those at Ghent and Liège) are called "state" institutions. Louvain's great Catholic emphasis, dating from 1425, is deliberately counterbalanced somewhat by the newer, "unreligious" Free University of Brussels. Ghent's Flemish stress contrasts strikingly with the "Frenchness" of Liège, to mirror the nation's north-south, Flemish-Walloon bilingualism.

Each university has at least the five traditional faculties: philosophy and letters, law, sciences, medicine, and *sciences appliquées*. Around these have tended to grow up more or less loosely affiliated schools and institutes, dealing with such areas as *sciences politiques et sociales, sciences économiques,* and *éducation physique*. Distinctions among some of these "*sciences*" (areas of knowledge) emerge only after careful study of a university catalogue. For instance, Louvain's *Programme des Cours* for 1959-60 lists the *Faculté des Sciences Économiques et Sociales* as two schools and four institutes, one of the latter for training actuaries. Similarities to the schools, colleges, and departments within our universities seem fairly great, though in Belgium specialization tends to begin earlier. Our liberal arts Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science degree programs have no clear counterparts there, nor does one find much freedom to elect courses even within the specialty.

### *Reflects examination system*

The Belgian educational process for undergraduates differs vastly from ours, and it appears likely that the typical graduate is quite different, too. Annual oral examinations in each subject, sanctioned by long tradition, seem to me to be fundamental to this difference. Little written work is required other than a *mémoire* (thesis) in the last year or two, required readings are few, and class attendance is not compulsory. It is not surprising, then, that students warm up slowly to the business of preparing for the annual oral examinations in a dozen or more subjects. Few students study much before Christmas, and attendance at lectures is, compared with ours, poor. Class notes for most courses are prepared by enterprising students, duplicated, and sold widely. These class notes form the main or even sole basis for the final oral examination in the course. After the Christmas holidays, the most conscientious students begin studying their class notes, but many wait until Easter or even the month of May to begin. Some students with excellent memories can, by heroic 18-hour-per-day efforts, learn the required facts well enough in one month to pass the year's courses with honors.

The formal, individual oral examinations last from a few moments or minutes for each course to as much as half an hour. Ordinarily a student takes an oral examination (occasionally a written one, too) in each of his required subjects and must pass nearly all such examinations in order to get credit for the year's work; each faculty has its own formula, sometimes permitting a clear failure in one subject and one or two borderline failures in others. Passing grades for the year are "satisfaction," "distinction" (akin to our *cum laude*, apparently), "high distinction," and "highest distinction."

If a student earns less than "satisfaction" for the year, he must repeat examinations in *all* subjects. The Belgian attitude toward failure is radically different from ours, however. Each student may fail the work of any year three times if he can pass it the fourth. Examinations covering the year's work are offered regularly twice a year, typically in June and September. Students who fail in June are permitted to try again in September. Those who fail then must repeat the year's work (by attending classes or by studying privately), after which they can retake ex-

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[1] Royaume de Belgique, *Annuaire statistique de l'enseignement, année scolaire 1956-57* (Brussels, Belgium: L'Institut National de Statistique), pp. 3-19.

[2] Valentin Denis, *Université Catholique de Louvain*, 1425-1958 (Louvain, Belgium: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1958), pp. 40-41.

aminations in June and, if necessary, in September. A student's grade for the year is the classification he finally earns. It is by no means uncommon for a student to spend eight years earning a four-year degree and yet finish the final hurdle with honors.[3] Students who fail at one university, even more than once, may transfer to another university and begin anew. Changing from one field to another is a third remedy for failure.

*Half drop out*

Only about half of the students who enroll regularly at a Belgian university, after 12 years of highly academic schooling, ever earn a degree. Further, it appears that because of the lax system for reporting to parents, quite a few students do not bother to enroll regularly, choosing to remain—so to speak—roisterers in residence without portfolio for taking examinations. As is true in American colleges, the bulk of failures among those students who actually take examinations occurs during the freshman year.[4]

Closely related to the system of examinations that are based specifically on the content of lectures—and in which the professor's opinion is usually treated coordinately with actual facts—is the great gulf between professors and students. Except in certain seminars during the junior and senior years, vocal participation by students during classes is virtually unknown. The professor lectures formally, and the students who happen to be in attendance take notes—fully or not, depending upon the ready availability of suitable duplicated notes for that course. Undergraduates rarely talk with their teachers outside of class, either, except perhaps to the major professor in connection with preparation of the *mémoire* for the degree of *licence* (analogous to our baccalaureate).

The oral examinations place a great premium upon the self-discipline needed to learn a large body of facts, upon good memory, and upon the sheer physical stamina demanded for the intensive final "cramming." Persons who are timid, shy, unpoised, hesitant of speech, or of unequal ability in the various required courses are penalized. A student may earn high honors one year and fail the next year's work because a certain professor terrifies him. He or she may pass all but a few subjects in June and then in September fail some of the previously passed subjects, while easily getting by the originally troublesome ones. A professor may ask a student how he fared the previous year and then pose him an unusually difficult or easy question, depending upon the professor's reaction to the student's prior record. Poor clothing or lower-class manners may be detrimental to the student, too.

It is often possible for a student to "spot" a given professor in terms of his habitual type of questioning. Undoubtedly, certain students become rather adept at "shooting the bull" in a convincing way, while other equally capable examinees appear far less able; the extent to which this occurs varies considerably.

It is far easier to memorize the content of certain courses without understanding it well than it is to memorize the content of others. One gets the impression that Belgian students in the physical sciences use more textbooks, do more required outside reading, and have more written exercises than do students in the older disciplines, probably leading to greater validity of grading in the physical science courses.

*Light courses common*

A professor may be perfunctory or profound in his courses. Frequently, little relationship exists between the quality of his lectures and the harshness of his oral examinations. In particular, a lax lecturer may be a "murderous" examiner.

An interesting contrast occurs. While end-of-year examinations encourage excessive cramming and poor long-term retention of facts, distributing the content of what we would normally call a quarter or one-semester course over two or three semesters helps space learning. One and two-credit courses are common.

The Belgian emphasis on the wholesale learning of facts, the status of the professor's opinion as itself being a fact, and the students' practice of cramming instead of distributing study time strike us as being undesirable in view of our efforts to stress meaning and

[3] A. Van Waeyenberghe, "La sélection des étudiants à l'université, 1931 et 1947," *Cahier X de la Revue des Sciences Pédagogiques*, 1947.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-11, 15-16.

distributed learning. There seems to be no denying, however, that many Belgian honor graduates emerge with heads full of facts and with considerable ability to interrelate them. Belgium's system appears geared to producing graduates who can, upon sensing a need, proceed independently to learn a large body of material in a short period of time. Those who cannot usually don't graduate!

American education may need more accent on the overlearning of certain important facts necessary as the base for a subject. Belgian education may need more emphasis on learning which facilitates efficient recall and utilization.

*Few Belgians bilingual*

I personally observed student life at the Catholic University of Louvain for eight months while my wife, 11-year-old daughter, and I resided in the Flemish city of Louvain, in a third-floor apartment right on the main square. (In fact, our address was 1 *Grand' Place* or, in Flemish, 1 *Grote Markt*.)

Louvain is an old city whose prestige over the centuries has declined greatly and whose population has diminished appreciably to less than 40,000, this number being augmented during the academic year by 12,000 students at the Catholic University. Approximately half of the university's 11,000 Belgian students study predominantly in French, the other half in Flemish (whose written form is Dutch).[5] Nearly every course is offered in both languages, usually by different instructors. There is a French medical school and a Flemish one, a French law school and a Flemish law school, and so forth.

Many French-speaking Belgians (Walloons) at the university know little Flemish and may even be proud of their ignorance, while many Flemings speak little French, reluctantly and with a heavy Flemish accent. (Somehow, based on the linguistically talented immigrants to the United States and our national habit of staying at de luxe and first-class hotels in large cities when abroad, Americans have vastly overestimated the multilingualism of Europeans. Get just a mile or two off the beaten track or register at a lower-class hotel, and you'll likely not be confronted with any tongue other than the local one!)

From our excellent (but not always relished) vantage point overlooking, and overhearing, the city square, we witnessed countless parades—religious, political, and otherwise—and the continual antics of university students, which often, with characteristic Belgian energy, ran virtually all night long—beer-drinking, foot-stamping, singing, and (several times a year) baiting the police.

At first these boisterous activities puzzled us, so we checked carefully and repeatedly with all available persons, both Belgian and American, to be sure we were not observing merely a comparatively small, atypical group hanging around the square. In so doing we learned several of the points about curricula and examinations already mentioned. We also discovered that the Belgian attitude toward the university student is different from ours. His status in the eyes of adults is higher. He is a "privileged character," his treatment being similar to that of a favored class at Harvard or Oxford Universities not long ago, but manifested in different ways.

For one thing, the university administration takes little responsibility for the actions of students or for their bodily comfort and social welfare. Students who hurl slurs, sticks, and even cobblestones at city or riot policemen may be chased by them with rather harmless rubber blackjacks or hosed down after a day or two of such "playing," but they are not expelled or otherwise disciplined by the university administration; rarely do police arrest them, and then they are usually held only overnight.

Drunken students who sit in the middle of the square at midnight, deliberately impeding the flow of traffic on an international highway and endangering their own lives, are avoided by the police as much as possible. Loud drinking parties are legally permitted to proceed unabated until midnight, and unofficially thereafter even right across from the police station until some irate insomniac files a complaint.

After puzzling over these lunacies and leniencies for eight months, my wife and I concluded that in large measure university life must be considered a reward for undergoing successfully the rigors of six years of academic studies in high school. The student who survives the Latin-Greek, Latin-mathematics, Latin-science, or "modern humanities" curriculum of an *athénée*, *lycée*, or *collège* and then comes to the university on dad's money or a scholarship is considered to be due some release, especially during his first year. Long hours of attendance and heavy homework assignments during elementary and secondary school, together

[5] Denis, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

with the closeness of family life that precludes many contacts with outsiders, leave the typical Belgian youngster little time for the type of socialization begun early and continued long in the United States. After being restrained and checked up on nearly every moment of his young life, he suddenly is put almost completely on his own.

The usual university student has a world of time, not being faced by part-time employment, regular homework assignments, short-term examinations, or many organized activities. Louvain was almost a ghost town every weekend, so far as students were concerned. Many went home or elsewhere on Thursday night and returned on Monday night or extremely early Tuesday morning. (Few Monday classes meet before 10:00 a.m., anyway.) The favorite nights for clubs, movies, and parties appeared to be Tuesday and Wednesday. Holidays were long; we spent 24 days in England during the Easter vacation without missing any pertinent university activities.

*Surplus of graduates*

Evidently, Belgium does not need its university-trained talent to the extent that the United States needs its trained graduates, so low rates of graduation do not cause as much concern there. My physician friends in Louvain told me of an oversupply of doctors. Economists sometimes are compelled to accept rather routine positions in banks. A clinical psychologist we knew is moving to the United States in order to use her talents properly (discrimination against professionally trained women in Belgium seems especially strong). An occupational therapist with exceptionally fine qualifications has been unsuccessful several times in competing for appointments in her field (where, as in many other vocations, political influence seems to be the predominant factor).

Because Belgium does not have liberal arts degrees, overspecialization at the undergraduate level often causes serious problems. Also, the compulsory legal age for attending public schools is from six to 14 years, inclusive, and most persons drop out or transfer to technical courses before reaching the academic senior high school, so the need for university-trained teachers is far less urgent than ours. In 1956-57,

fewer than 40,000 students were enrolled in the Belgian equivalent of academic senior high schools; there were almost three boys to each girl.[6] Preschool, primary, elementary, and many junior high school teachers are trained in 169 subcollegiate "normal schools" enrolling an average of slightly more than 100 students per school.[7]

It is instructive to note that with its nine million inhabitants Belgium numbers no more students in its four universities and 18 other institutions of collegiate rank than does the University of Wisconsin alone (when students at the Milwaukee branch and junior college extension centers are included in the count). This university serves a state of less than four million inhabitants, which state, moreover, houses many other colleges, both state and privately controlled. The University of Wisconsin admits outsiders, of course, but so does Belgium. For example, the Catholic University of Louvain draws approximately 1,000 of its students from many other countries of the world, 200 of them (chiefly Catholic *séminaristes* and lay medical students) from the United States.

Partly, however, the discrepancy results from the official definition of *enseignement universitaire* that excludes nearly 20,000 full-time students beyond the high-school level. In 1956-57, 45,004 persons were full-time enrollees in "higher education," compared with 865,928 in the first six grades of school.[8]

As James Bryant Conant said in a speech recently, "Education is not an exportable commodity."[9] The Belgian concept of "university" education certainly does not suit the philosophy and needs of our undergraduate units. Likewise, our pattern has little appeal for most Belgian students and professors.

Undoubtedly, Belgian university education could profit from more intellectual fervor, to balance off the drinking clubs. An English-type tutorial system seems needed, also, to promote independent reading and discussion.

As a specialist in educational measurement, I could not help viewing with horror the excessive dependence upon end-of-year oral examinations.

Inevitably, these examinations are bound to lack reliability, validity, fairness, and coverage to an extent not equalled in even the worst graded courses in American colleges, encouraging wrong study habits and a "one-upmanship" type of superficiality that we abhor. For example, in certain courses a student may be given short sketches concerning many authors by

[6] Royaume de Belgique, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.
[7] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1959, Vol. 3, p. 359.
[8] Royaume de Belgique, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.
[9] Luncheon address at the Invitational Testing Conference of Educational Testing Service, Hotel Roosevelt, New York City, October 31, 1959.

his professor (name, birth dates, chief works, excerpts, style, and so forth) and may learn all of these for the final oral examination without ever having read anything written by a single one of the authors! Usually, a student dares not dispute the professor's assertions, so he consults primary sources themselves at his own peril.

During our 11 and one-half months in Western Europe, during which we traveled 13,000 miles by private automobile, my wife and I derived certain generalizations. We did everything possible to check their validity, but of course the experiences and resources of two persons are necessarily limited. The reader should keep in mind that, like most Fulbright grantees and their dependents, we went abroad with decidedly pro-European attitudes. Some of our conclusions follow.

The typical citizen of the United States has permitted himself to be sold a massive, largely undeserved inferiority complex by Europeans. We seem almost eager to believe virtually any preposterously exaggerated, favorable statement about European educational, cultural, and linguistic superiority. The European often is saying, implicitly, that because his "civilized" history is much longer than ours, his *present* way of life is far superior.

As I have already quoted, education is not readily exportable. European educational systems at all levels are founded upon social and economic conditions and philosophies vastly different from ours. We can probably learn something about education from Europeans, but undoubtedly they can learn at least as much from us. As democratic countries raise the age for compulsory school attendance, they tend to encounter the same educational problems we faced earlier.[10]

Our elementary school teachers are clearly the most highly educated of those of any country I know of, both from the standpoint of the amount of education they receive and its quality. Four years of college-level education for elementary school teachers—standard in most of our states—is a rare phenomenon in Western Europe. Belgium's small, numerous teacher-training "colleges" resemble American normal schools of bygone years. Although they offer instruction and supervised practice from grade 10 through grade 13,[11] they lack the liberal arts emphasis of our better teachers colleges and universities. (Most readers will be aware that even the teachers colleges themselves are disappearing in the United States, as normal schools did some time ago except in a few politically entrenched localities.)

By no means do all Europeans speak several languages, even badly. Belgium, except for business circles, is bilingual chiefly in that slightly more than half its inhabitants speak Flemish and slightly less than half speak French.

In particular, only a small percentage of Europeans speak English. Studying the "dry bones" of English vocabulary and grammar with mental discipline intent, even for many years, does not of itself produce oral and aural competence. Aptitude, motivation, and opportunity must supplement the formal classroom procedures; we met no English-speaking European who claimed to have learned to *speak* English in a schoolroom. "I had an American boy friend;" "I lived in England during the war;" "I listen to B.B.C. broadcasts regularly;" "I was a waiter on the Holland-America Line for two years;" "The language *disques*, they are *formidable*," were explanations offered us by Europeans who spoke English well.

Contrary to popular belief, Europeans do not appear to have greater literary and artistic interests than we. For example, the typical Belgian housewife, with few years of schooling and a small budget, is so busy trying to accomplish the many daily maintenance tasks we toss off quickly that she has little time for books, plays, and such. Central heating is rare, refrigerators are nonexistent or of minute capacity, cooking equipment is inefficient, and plumbing facilities can most charitably be described as "quaint." European women and men must often devote far more of their time to the routine maintenance of daily living than do their United States counterparts and therefore may have little time or energy left over. Haven't we tended to generalize too hastily from markedly atypical visitors to our shores?

All of the above has a disillusioned, "America-for-me" ring that may strike the reader as being overdone. Western Europe's infinite variety, scenic marvels, artistic wonders, friendly people, and recreational paradises beckon the American traveler irresistibly. These should be enough, without our feeling called upon to disparage our educational system unjustly and suggesting —as some have done in recent years— that it be replaced by "the" European plan.

Belgium is just one small country, but a detailed study of education there should make us wary of proposals to mimic European methods.

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[10] Gérard Plante, *Les objectifs de l'enseignement secondaire dans le milieu culturel français de Belgique* (Montréal: Centre de Psychologie et de Pédagogie, 1954).

[11] Royaume de Belgique, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

BY VAN R. HALSEY, JR.

# *A Walter Mitty in academe*

*The author freely acknowledges his debt to James Thurber's short story, "The Secret Life of Walter Mitty."*

Shutting the door to his ocher-colored cubicle of an office, Dean of Admission Howard Bunby glared at the mound of letters, memos, and applications cluttering up his desk. The room was, as usual, stuffy and close.

"If only I had an assistant to help me with this," he muttered as he struggled with the window. His old desk chair made a threatening noise as he sat down and picked up the first letter.

"Dear Dean Bunby," he read, "After much thought, I have decided to withdraw my...."

Quickly Bunby turned the page to find the signature. He grunted as he read the name of the all-state half-back whom he had thought was all set to come next fall. And that kid was a good student, too!

He set the note aside as the next item in the heap caught his eye. It was from an alumnus complaining about the cool reception one of his protégés had received at the Admission Office. Of course, the kid had been swept off his feet at the next college on his list.

"Oh, brother!" thought Bunby as he creaked around and stared out the window.

"Well, gentlemen, that's the last time we talk to any high school students on this campus," Howard Bunby said evenly.

Two young men stood before his gleaming mahogany desk, its broad expanse bare but for four telephones. He leaned back in the Morroccan leather swivel chair and carefully extracted an English oval from his engraved cigarette case.

Bunby inhaled deeply. "From now on we grant no more personal interviews to prospective students."

The jaws of the assistant dean and the assistant to the dean appeared to unhinge.

"But, sir," quavered Harlowe, visibly sinking into the rich pile of the carpet, "Braisted University, our biggest competitor, has just announced that it will interview all its applicants."

"We're going it alone," Bunby said in a low, icy tone.

"We can't do that," stammered Snavely. "The waiting room is full of people with appointments. And there's that boy on his way from Chicago...."

Bunby gave them a pitying glance. "Send a memo to the wire services advising them of the new policy. Get Buildings and Grounds up here. I want 10 cubicles with closed circuit television screens and an amphitheater for movies built by tomorrow." Bunby turned his chair sharply and punched the buzzer for Miss Ashby.

"What guts," one assistant muttered admiringly to the other as they left the room.

"He'll get away with it," the other grinned back. "Nothing can stop Bunby!"

Through the opened door the sounds of the frenzied typists desparately trying to catch up with Bunby's dictation increased: picketa picketa-pack, picketa picketa-pack.

"Why are you buzzing me, Dean Bunby?" said Miss Ashby. "I'm right here in front of your desk. You don't have to buzz me. Here I am."

"Hmmm?" said Howard Bunby. He peered at Miss Ashby as though he had never seen her before.

"You weren't listening again," said his secretary frostily. "There are four interviews for you this afternoon. Mr. Appleby called to find out about an early acceptance for one of his students. The boy you talked to yesterday. And the College Board scores have just come. We'll get them on the applications this afternoon. One of the alumni wants to know if you'll see a group of juniors he's bringing up for a tour of the campus. I told him to come at four."

Howard Bunby squashed out his pewter-tasting filter cigarette and heaved an audible sigh.

"And, oh yes," she said, as she moved

toward the door, "your wife called to remind you of the dinner tonight."

"I can't go out to dinner tonight," he said wearily, "too much work to do here."

"We went over that yesterday," she said. "You have to go. The president's giving it for the trustees, and you're to speak about the 'admission picture'."

Howard Bunby pushed himself erect. "Well," he said defiantly, "right now I'm going to the Faculty Club for coffee."

He slouched into his coat and went out of the building. Dodging his way through a crowd of students coming from class, he was cutting across a corner of the quadrangle as the first drops of rain hit his slightly balding head. Looking up at the clouds, his eye caught the gilt lettering over the entrance to the new biology building, the result of the college's last big alumni fund drive.

The gymnasium echoed with the roar of the 2,000 alumni back for the annual reunion.

"Can't imagine what's happened to our speaker," said the president nervously.

The distraught alumni secretary rushed up to the platform.

"Where's Abner Gable?" demanded the president.

"He's just died of a coronary," quavered the alumni secretary.

Howard Bunby glanced at the poor fellow. They said he could never remember first names.

"Well, we musn't hold up any longer," said the president, chewing distractedly at a corner of his robe. "Could you start things off, Dean Bunby?"

"Would you take over, dean?" said the haggard secretary. "Everything depends on you. Tell them how much money we need. How desperate we are. Go ahead. You can do it, sir."

"Glad to," Bunby said.

He strode to the lectern, adjusted the handkerchief in the breast pocket of his faultlessly tailored gray suit, casually took a sip of water from the glass on the table beside him, and put up a hand to stop the wild cheering.

"Gentlemen," he began, "the president has asked me to tell you something about our new admission policy toward sons of alumni."

An expectant hush fell over the crowded tent. The president had turned ashen gray. The alumni secretary was plucking nervously at his lower lip.

"Beginning this year, sons of alumni will no longer be automatically admitted to the college. They will have to compete with all the rest of our brilliant candidates for admission. And as for the fund drive...."

"Hey, Howie! What're you just standing around in the rain for? Get out of that puddle and c'mon inside!"

Bunby looked up at the chairman of the history department holding the door of the Faculty Club open.

"Oh. You bet," he said in a distracted tone. He clumped up the steps and entered the room. Picking up a cup, he measured out some instant coffee and poured in the lukewarm water.

"Say, Howard, I guess young Bullfinch will have to be dropped from college."

Howard Bunby looked inquiringly over the edge of his cup at the freshman dean.

"Yep," the dean went on. "He flunked math and English. How'd you ever accept that loafer, anyway?"

Bunby sagged back in his chair. He remembered the boy all right. College Board scores under 400. Second in his class in high school. Talented oboe player. The counselor had gone all out for this kid, said he was a real plugger. A little short on verbal ability perhaps, but he had heart.

Van R. Halsey, Jr., is assistant dean of admission and assistant professor of American studies at Amherst College.

Conversation in the group picked up. The physics instructor in the chair next to Bunby leaned over. "How was your trip to California, dean? Boy, what I wouldn't give for a little sun and warmth right now! You fellows in the administration sure have it made. Seriously, though, why do you guys have to spend all the college's money traveling when you're getting more good applications than you know what to do with?"

Howard Bunby smiled wanly. He thought of the missed train connections, the fogged-in airports, the counselors who wanted to know why this or that boy was turned down last year in favor of someone else.

The man persisted. "Why can't you just go by the College Board scores? They're a better predictor than anything else, and we wouldn't get jerks like this Bullfinch."

These science profs, thought Howard Bunby. So damn superior! Just because they're hard to get, they think they've got all the answers. He let the man ramble.

"They're trying to predict how many we'll get of those we give an acceptance to," said Bunby's secretary anxiously.

"Oh?" said Bunby, flicking an ash from his sleeve. He casually handed her the manuscript of his latest book, *The Admission Committee As A Policy-Making Group, Or How To Bamboozle Your Faculty*.

"Who's on the admission committee this time?" he asked.

"The president and all 10 of the deans. They've been here all night. The president flew in from Indianapolis yesterday."

The door to the inner office opened and Dean Bliss came out. He was gaunt and bleary-eyed. "Thought I heard your voice, Dean Bunby. So glad you're here. We've been struggling with these predictions. The president is pretty set on sending out a lot of acceptance letters. Seven hundred of them. Could you spare a moment to help us out?"

"Of course," said Bunby.

In the conference room there were brief hellos as the deans and assistants chewed on pencils or scratched figures on the pads in front of them.

The registrar looked up and smiled. "I've just read the paper you gave on the correlation between college success and early toilet training. A brilliant study, sir."

"Thank you," said Bunby.

"Bunby," the president said, "we're at sixes and sevens trying to predict the number there'll be in this year's class. We can't seem to come to an agreement on the number of acceptances to be mailed out tomorrow. I say 700, because we're getting fewer ghost applications with all the early acceptance plans at other colleges. Sullivan here wants to up that by 50. Mark is afraid we'll lose a lot of good boys if we have a big alternate list. Give us your prediction, won't you?"

"Yes, Bunby," said Fairweather, "you know so much about these predictions."

Bunby looked at the man's gray face. Fairweather slumped in his chair. He was known to drink.

"Dean Bunby," Bliss said, "you're the only one who can help us here, and the faculty has full confidence in you."

A tight-lipped smile creased Bunby's handsome face. Poor Bliss. He'd never published.

The phone jangled in the corner and Harlowe jumped to answer it. "My God," he whispered, covering the mouth-piece, "it's the Lardner Foundation wanting to know whether we'll have too many freshmen for that new dormitory they gave us last year. What are we going to tell them, sir? We can't..."

"Quiet, man!" snapped Bunby.

The blonde secretary opened the door. "The taxi is here Dean Bunby. Your plane for Washington leaves in 30 minutes and your television interview with the H.E.W. people is set for seven o'clock. I have your brief case ready."

"Thank you," said Bunby. He strode to the corner of the room and snapped open a tall metal case, exposing a set of luminous dials and tubes. Pulling the switch, he took a piece of paper covered with figures out of his pocket. Slipping the paper into the machine, he turned up the juice. The machine went: clicketa-puck, clicketa-puck, clicketa-puck, clicketa-puck. "You'll have the correct figure in 30 seconds, gentlemen..."

"Howard? Telephone!" Howard Bunby slowly put his cup on the table.

The young physics instructor was getting up. "I'd like to tell you some more about predictions, dean."

"Drop around anytime," Bunby answered, going toward the other room.

"It's a long distance call, Howard."

"Hello. This is Howard Bunby. Who? Oh, Fred! How are you? Got all your class placed for this year? I'm sorry I couldn't work in a visit to the school. What? Yep...you said it...we're right up to our necks in decisions now. What? Oh, about 1,000 or so. Who? Yes, I remember the boy...been accepted at Thomaston University? Good for him. It's a fine place. What? He does? Well,...Fred, his record is pretty spotty....We'd like to wait..."

Here we go again, thought Howard Bunby. These guys were always trotting out some underachiever, and making it seem incredible that any college could turn him down. Parents were probably on the poor fellow's neck. The counselor was telling him about the boy's extracurricular achievements, class motto committee, or something....

The chapel bell was striking eight as Howard Bunby strolled nonchalantly into the president's office for the meeting called to discuss the probation list.

"Rather awkward situation here, Bunby," the dean said. "We have no probation list! Some of these boys had very questionable records when you admitted them. Somehow the gambles you take seem to pay off. Tell us, how do you do it?"

Bunby smiled enigmatically. "All life is a gamble, isn't it, Mr. Dean?"

"Yes, of course, but...well, what about this boy...Middleton? He seems to be the only one who might qualify for probation."

Bunby glanced briefly but narrowly at the record card.

"Dean Bunby, that kid hasn't a chance of making it, sir," sputtered one of the assistants. "His Otis was 110, he ranked 148 out of 151 in his class at school, and his Boards were under 400."

Bunby dropped the record card on the table. Again that fleeting, mysterious smile played about his mouth. "His S.M.T.C.D. in the fourth grade was 26½ percentile," Bunby replied coolly. "Combine that with the fact that he was once pogo-stick champion of his block and you have a lad who will make a college average of 97.8412."

"Amazing," said the president.

"Absolutely uncanny," said the dean.

"Quite," said Bunby.

# *Why college enrollments may triple by 1970*

For the last few years it has been an accepted truism that "between now and 1970, college enrollments are going to double." More accurately, as the United States Office of Education recently pointed out, the expectation has been that "total college and university enrollments will rise from 3,600,000 in 1958-59 to about 6,400,000 by 1970."

These figures were reached by watching the ratio of total college-goers to *all* the 18 to 21-year-olds in the United States. This figure has been steadily rising since 1940. In that year it was 15%. A decade later it was 30%. In 1958, it reached 38%. The 1970 enrollment projections mentioned by the Office of Education were reached by assuming that the ratio would reach 44% by some time in the 1960's.

How accurate is this view of things? Let Philip H. Coombs, program director of the education division of the Ford Foundation, take up the tale:

"Even this bold assumption, like so many before it," says Mr. Coombs, "may prove to be on the low side. A broad-based survey conducted for the Ford Foundation in the spring of 1959 by Elmo Roper and Associates reveals that 69% of the children below 18 years of age are expected by their parents to go to college."

### *3,000 parents interviewed*

In conducting this survey for the Ford Foundation, Elmo Roper and Associates interviewed 3,000 parents, nationwide. The figure of 69% of parental expectation for a child's higher education may, as Mr. Coombs says, be "padded by parental pride and optimism, but it demonstrated that a college education has come to be widely regarded as the *sine qua non* of personal success, just as the high school diploma did earlier."

But although parental hopes may swell the figure somewhat, it would be most unsafe for anyone to say that they swell it by 40%. Moreover, however much some may deplore it, there is a "bandwagon" effect which might make even the 69% parental expectation figure itself too low by 1970. No matter how the figure is viewed, a demand exists more tremendous than hitherto realized, which somehow will have to be met.

How? Another salient finding from the study for the Ford Foundation had to do with how parents hope to see their children's education financed. Two facts emerged here. One was that although parents had a fairly realistic idea of college costs *now*, they made no allowances for future inflation. Another, and more fearsome, was that although most people realize that a child's college career demands some sort of saving, the median amount saved per family per year for this purpose was $150—among those doing *any* such saving. And three out of five families have no savings plan of any kind.

How then do parents hope to finance college for their children? Only 1 out of 4 expects to use current income—current when the child has reached the college gates. Among all, 41% are looking to scholarships, by whomever financed; 28% are expecting to lean on contributions from their child's earnings; and 15% are looking to loans from government or from the institution attended.

The burden—of numbers and of dollars—implied by these findings is nothing short of staggering. It staggered the Ford Foundation. To take just one instance, if the figure of 69% of youth attending college should turn out to be unexaggerated, this would mean not a doubling of 1970 enrollments over the present but closer to a tripling. It could mean, in short, a population in college of 11,000,000 young people.

Faced with their problem, the colleges can do one of three things. They can enlarge their facilities. They can sharply raise their standards to restrict attendance. Or they can do some of both.

If this growth is to occur, another enormous problem looms. The widespread discussions of the need for more buildings and more teachers have not yet been matched among the public by any discussion of a third need—the need for a well-organized system which will help or enable families to finance education of the children they insist must go to college.

### *Billions needed in 1970's*

If it is assumed that by the 1970's a modest figure for the cost of a college education were to be $2,500 a year and that in reality there will be a college population of 11,000,000, then it takes only a moment of mental arithmetic to realize that there is a gross outlay called for here of over a hundred billion dollars to see all the 11,000,000 college population through four years to their degrees.

In view of the magnitude of the family's expenditures for college, it would seem that some financing innovation which has not yet reached the stage of general public discussion is very much in order—something as unique and revolutionary as the amortized mortgage was to home ownership some years ago. Experts have been debating this problem for some time but with no voice of unanimity. The public's eyes are still very largely closed to the financial implications of their decisions. But as the years approach the fateful 1970's, this is a problem that will grow—not diminish.

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The above article is reprinted in part from *The Public Pulse*, September 1959, by permission of Elmo Roper and Associates.

## Parents' plans for college and for paying college costs

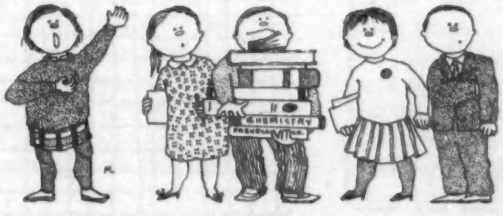
*Facts of unusual interest collected in the survey discussed on the opposite page appear below. Copies of the full, 30-page survey report, "Parents' College Plans Study," may be requested from the Ford Foundation, 477 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.*

1. Parents expect to send 69 per cent of children under 18 to college. The percentage is about the same for girls as it is for boys. It is substantially higher among persons of above-average economic levels, in smaller families, and in the far West than for the entire country.

2. Doubts about sending their children to college are largely influenced by lack of money, but finances are not the only problem. Among children 14 to 17 years of age, for example, a significant percentage, according to their parents, just "do not want to go to college" or "their marks are not good enough."

3. A majority of parents indicating a definite choice expect their children to go to a state college. A majority seem to feel, also, that going to college means taking a four-year course.

4. Two-thirds of the parents indicating a definite choice expect their children to live at college. They figure this will cost $500 a year more than living at home.

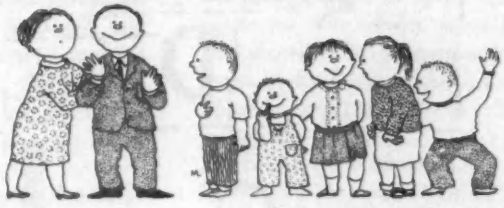



5. The median expense expected per child per year of college was $1,450. Private colleges were thought of as costing $1,574 per year, on the average, about $200 more per year than a state university and $700 more per year than a city college.

6. The median total cost per family for all children for all years of college was $10,050, toward which the parents plan to contribute $7,050 or 70 per cent. Sixteen per cent of the families figure total costs for the family would be over $19,000.

7. When parents think about future college costs, they are evidently expecting them to be about the same per year as they are now, regardless of whether they are talking about 1962 or 1970. They are not thinking of possible increased costs in the future.

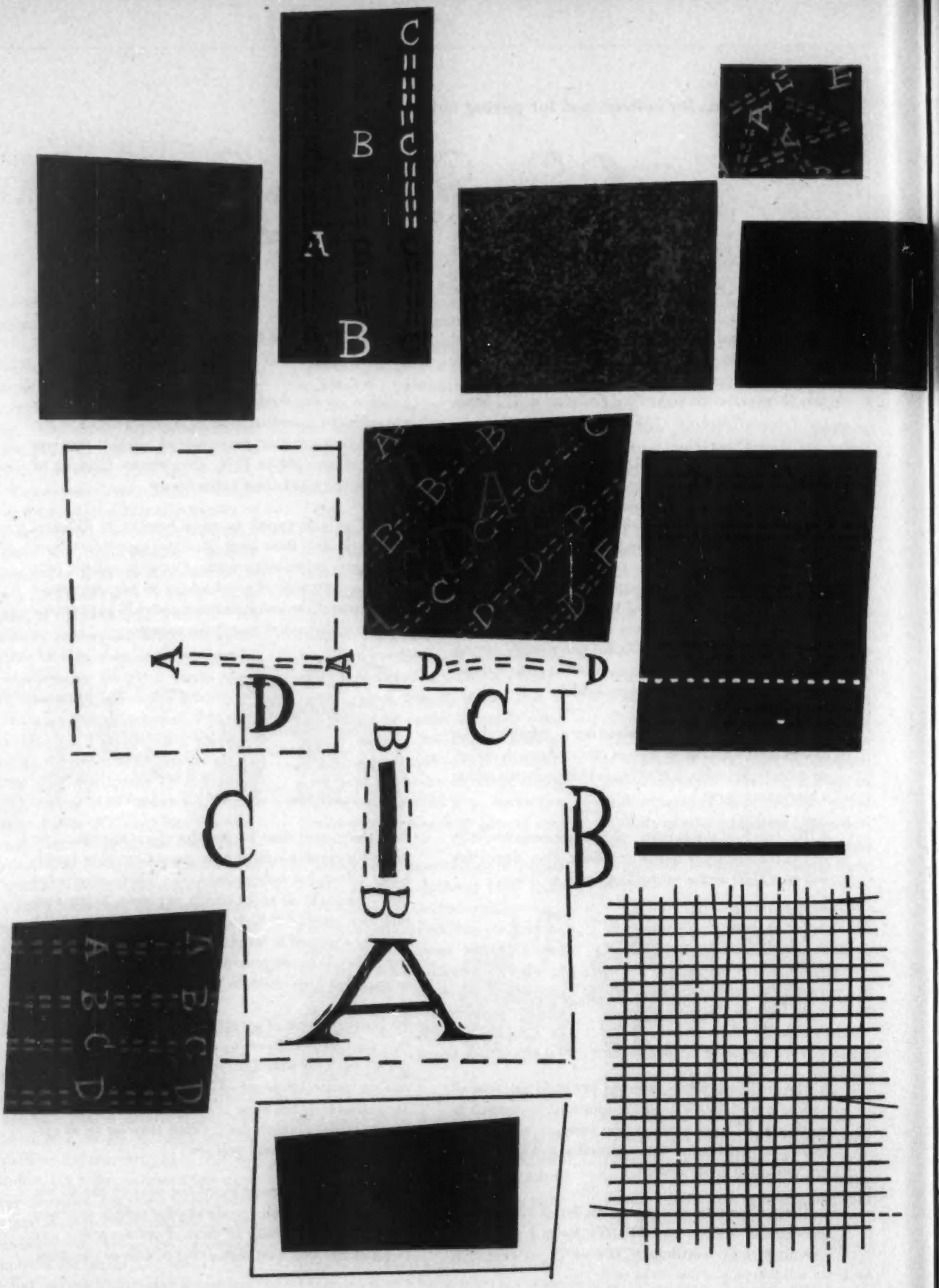
8. Most parents expect to use a number of different plans to finance their family's college expenses: 67 per cent expect to use some form of savings; 41 per cent hope for some type of scholarship; 29 per cent expect to use current income at that time; and 28 per cent expect the child to earn money for college.



9. At the present time, 60 per cent of parents expecting to send a child to college have no savings plan specifically set up for college expenses. When asked what they planned to do about college expenses, 25 per cent said they just hadn't had a chance to think about it, 11 per cent expected to set up a special savings plan. The rest expected to use general savings or current income or expected their children to earn their way through.

10. Forty per cent of parents said they now have a savings plan specifically set up for college expenses; 24 of the 40 per cent who did report having a plan said it was an insurance program. But many of these plans are probably in the form of death benefits—to be used in case of the parent's death rather than set up as special college endowment policies.

11. The median amount saved last year by the 40 per cent who have a plan specifically for college expenses was $150. It would take 10 years of savings at this rate to equal one year's estimated cost of college per child.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BY ROBERT V. BARTNIK AND
WILLIAM W. TURNBULL

# *A revolutionary change in test scoring*

With astonishing developments taking place in electronic office equipment, it had to be only a matter of time before special devices were designed to help in processing the College Board tests. The time has come. Educational Testing Service has a machine, now in the final stages of development, that is expected to revolutionize the processing of candidates' test papers.

The remarkable new device is built around the electronic eye principle. Its main job is "sensing" or "reading" such information as a student's name and his answers to objective test questions, distinguishing between right and wrong answers, performing simple sums, and recording its findings in the inevitable IBM card—but this is only the beginning, as we shall see.

The equipment is being developed and built for ETS by the Norden Division (famous for the World War II bombsight) of the United Aircraft Company. It is scheduled to be installed at the ETS office in Princeton this spring and put into operational use as soon as trial runs show that "de-bugging" is complete.

The first change that will be visible outside ETS will be in the answer sheet on which students mark their responses to the test questions. At present, a student uses several different sheets in the process of taking the College Board's admissions tests—the Scholastic Aptitude Test and the Achievement Tests. The new machine, however, can score several different tests simultaneously for a single candidate. Accordingly, it now becomes feasible to use a single answer sheet for an entire half-day of testing—a great convenience for both students and test supervisors.

The equipment is both speedy and versatile. Here's how it will handle, say, the Achievement Tests taken by Tommy Collins in March. Tommy chose Achievement Tests in Social Studies, French, and Chemistry.

### *Half-second for Tommy*

First, the machine identifies Tommy. On his answer sheet he has marked his name, his school, his birth-date and enough other information to make the identification positive. The machine "reads" all of these items of information and prepares an IBM card in which all of the data are recorded.

The machine has in its "memory" all of the right answers for all of the Achievement Tests Tommy might have taken. For each of the three he did take, the machine pulls the right "scoring key" from its memory and compares Tommy's answers with the correct ones. It counts up the number of right answers in Social Studies and also the number of wrong answers in the same test (as contrasted with questions Tommy omitted entirely). These totals are immediately punched into IBM cards containing Tommy's name (or his examination number) and other identifying information about him.

Simultaneously, the machine is going through the same comparing and counting steps in French and in Chemistry. Tommy's total of rights and wrongs for each of these tests is also punched into his IBM card.

Actually, all of the foregoing steps are taken at virtually the same instant: the machine "reads" identifying information, scores the tests, and prepares the IBM card in just over a half a second!

One especially useful feature of the equipment is its ability to handle a varied assortment of answer sheets in succession, each containing a different selection of tests. The next answer sheet after Tommy's may contain responses to Advanced Mathematics, German, and Physics Test questions. Again, the machine chooses the appropriate scoring keys, compares the student's answers, counts rights and wrongs, and punches the totals into an IBM card along with the information identifying the student—all at a speed of 6,000 sheets per hour. There is no longer any necessity for pre-sorting answer sheets by hand into separate piles for Spanish, French, Intermediate Mathematics, and so on.

A primary consideration, of course, is the accuracy with which all of the steps are performed. Luckily, it has been possible to devise a highly reliable system whereby the machine will check its own operations. It is expected that with only a single scoring of each paper, the machine's accuracy will compare favorably with that of any presently available method of scoring, including the tried-and-true system of two or three separate "hand scorings" done by scoring clerks.

Robert V. Bartnik is planning director of Educational Testing Service.

William W. Turnbull is executive vice president of Educational Testing Service.

One boon resulting from the new equipment will be elimination of the need for the special pencils that all students must now use to record their answers. In the future, students will be able to use any pencil that will make a decently dark mark. The machine reads in much the same way as the human eye, by noting variations in the brightness of light reflected from the answer sheet. It will pick up most of the marks that a human scorer with normal eyesight would see. In addition to 20-20 vision, it has patience beyond that given to humans, and it won't nod, blink, or become bored.

*Allowance for youth*

If all secondary school students followed directions to the letter and were regular in every way, life would be much simpler, even if drab. It may be safely assumed, however, that the students of the future will think up as many ways of being "different" as the present crop. At any rate, the machine was designed on this hypothesis and it has some built-in defenses against youthful high spirits, forgetfulness, cunning, or boneheadedness.

For instance, in answering test questions, a candidate may vary his marks

—for example, bold strokes for questions he knows cold, and half-hearted squiggles where the element of doubt is strong—without throwing the equipment off stride. If a student marks two answers to a single question, the machine examines both marks carefully, chooses the darker of the two, counts it, and proceeds. The same thing happens if the student marks three or more answers.

Inevitably, however, the machine will meet its match: there will have to be some answer sheets that it just can't handle. When such a sheet comes along, the device will shunt it aside for human inspection—but in a final attempt to have the last word, the machine will print on the sheet what *it* thinks the student did wrong.

Leaving the machine to gnash its transistors over the younger generation, let's look at the other key element in the brave new world of data processing—the "electronic brain," or computer. Since 1955, ETS has had a computer (IBM's Model 650) but it will not be adequate to handle the output of the scoring machine and a larger and more intricate device is in order. (We believe we may detect a general law here and if we can formulate it before Mr. Parkinson does, our names may be similarly immortalized.)

The new computer's job is to take the IBM cards prepared by the scoring machine and do several things with them. For Tommy Collins, for instance, the computer will first note how many right answers he gave in Social Studies, subtract from this number a statistically derived percentage of his number of wrong answers to get the remainder, "look up" the standard score corresponding to this remainder for Social Studies, note (we'd like to say with satisfaction) that this standard score is 690, and punch this number into the card.

All of these steps are elementary: any computer is capable of a much more exciting performance. But the steps of taking the simple "counts" provided by the scoring machine and turning them into a converted score for each test is the computer's basic job in the scoring-and-reporting process.

The purposes of applying these electronic marvels to test processing are four: accuracy, capacity, speed, and flexibility.

Accuracy comes first. Especially in testing for college entrance, it is obviously of the utmost importance to give every student the most meticulous and error-free attention available. Despite our sentimental wish that the human eye and brain could provide this degree of care, the facts are otherwise in this engineering era.

Capacity is a second important consideration. With candidate numbers doubling every three years, we need a means to insure that volume will not overtax the present system. This is important because the system is built on the philosophy of providing maximum service to the individual student—a

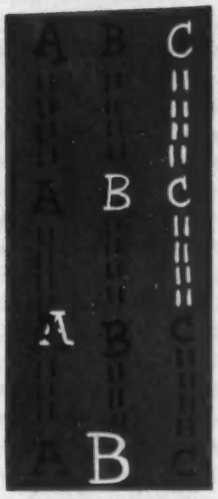
## Comments invited

The technological developments at the Educational Testing Service that are reported by Mr. Bartnik and Mr. Turnbull in the accompanying article are the result of almost 10 years of planning and experimentation. ETS recognized as early as 1950 that electronic data-processing equipment held considerable promise for improving work on the College Board's program, and the sharp increases in numbers of candidates which occurred steadily during the 1950's made it mandatory to capitalize on this potential. Indeed, the candidate pressures of the 1960's could probably not be accommodated in any other way. Introduction of the equipment at this time is thus both timely and appropriate, and the ETS staff deserves full credit.

The processes to be performed by the new equipment are the familiar ones of scoring, collating results, and preparing reports for colleges and schools. The use of the new equipment in the immediate future represents no fundamental change in the nature of the College Board admissions testing program. Over the long run, however, fundamental changes are possible, should the Board choose to make them. As the article points out, several possibilities for new service operations have already been suggested and others will undoubtedly appear. These will be studied by Board and ETS staff members during the coming year. Inquiries, thoughts, and suggestions from any interested individuals will be most welcome.

philosophy that might be threatened in the face of mounting volume.

The operations involved in registering candidates, scoring the tests, and reporting the scores in a large-scale testing program of high quality are complex and exacting. Each application is, in essence, a personal request by a student that ETS take certain



unique steps in his behalf. Each applicant has many options. He chooses from relatively simple options, such as the particular tests in the group which he elects to take, or from more complex options, such as the number and identification of the colleges which he may wish to receive his scores. In order to carry out the instructions of each individual student, ETS must assemble other pertinent information about him, such as the secondary school he attended, so that a report can be sent to that school.

The new equipment, designed or adapted specifically to perform these functions at tremendous speed, can accommodate any foreseeable number of students without undue strain. It may be paradoxical but is nonetheless true that "mechanization," far from forcing all students into the same mold, is the best hope of protecting the individual treatment that each one needs.

Especially for the colleges waiting for score reports, speed of handling test papers at ETS is vital. The new equipment should allow us to add services that have long been wanted but have not been possible.

An example of the new possibilities for service lies in retrieving scores made months or years earlier. The machines have a long memory—so long that we will be able to store within them all of the previous scores made by a student in earlier testings, draw them out automatically, and include them on score reports along with the current scores. For instance, when a college receives a score report for a student who has taken a College Board test in December, it will also receive his scores for the preceding May—without having to write or telephone ETS.

This accumulation of data will be made possible by a new wrinkle on which we have been working for some time. This is a unique number for each candidate, derived automatically from such information as his name, birthdate, birthplace, and sex. Each time the student registers for a test he records this information. From it the computer assigns him a number unique to him. He need not remember it: the next time he appears, the computer will derive the same number from the same data.

In this way the student is permanently and uniquely identified, almost as if we had his fingerprint. If in rare cases the number is assigned twice (to some twins, for example), the machine will recognize the repeated numbers and point them out for resolution by a human being, thus proving that people are not yet obsolete.

Other new services that will be possible through the combination of electronic scoring equipment and computer with additional information include predictions for each college that wants them of how many applicants will accept admission if it is offered. Admissions officers now usually guess at these figures, and suffer the terrors of over-acceptance and consequently overcrowded classrooms and dormitories on the one hand, or of under-acceptance and loss of substantial income from student fees on the other.

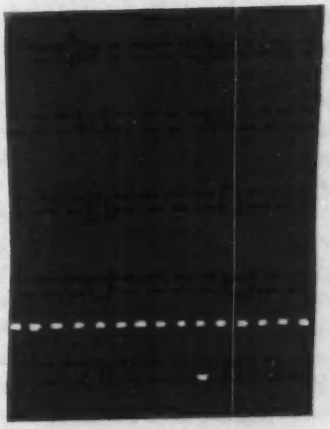
As another service to the college, the machines could combine test scores, school grades, and other data into an index—different for each college—yielding the best available prediction of college grade-point averages. This could save hours of work in the admissions offices of the growing number of colleges that prepare such predictions themselves.

In research and test development the possibilities are very great. For example, it is possible for the machine to reproduce in a punched card the answer of each student to each choice in each test question, thus making readily available a wealth of detailed data on the functioning of each separate question and of the test as a whole. These and other possibilities for the future hold great promise for better tests and more useful services to students, schools, and colleges.

*Supervisors enthused*

The scoring machine can handle answer sheets of different designs: for instance, it can score the standard IBM sheets. It is at its most efficient, however, when working on the new-style ETS answer sheets. As we had hoped, the new sheets, which were tried out on the College Board test date last August, seem to suit students and supervisors as well as the machines.

Supervisors' comments in August showed real enthusiasm. From Asheville, North Carolina: "...new answer sheets are wonderful." From Williamsport, Pennsylvania: "Single-sheet answer sheet for afternoon session is the



greatest single improvement in test administration since 1943 when I began the job here." From Brown University: "New answer sheets seemed to go well with no questions or problems. From administration point of view, far simpler and quicker especially in the afternoon...would like to have a chance to see this new machine. It must be fabulous."

It is.

BY REXFORD G. MOON, JR.

# *German and English student aid—and our own*

**In the two foreign systems, aid comes from the government, the size of awards is based firmly on need, and loans hardly ever are used**

The educational systems of individual nations tend to mirror the social, economic, and political systems of the nations of which they are a part. In modern societies, the purpose of education is not so much to change the nationally accepted values as it is to communicate these values to the populace. My recent brief travels in Germany and England have also suggested to me that the methods by which education is administered can be as effective in teaching attitudes, responsibilities, and values as the curriculum itself.

Germany's educational system is characterized by strong local responsibility and decentralized control, which is also the case in our own country. In England the responsibility for educational services is divided between national and local agencies, but recent trends seem to be more in the direction of the former than the latter.

In both Germany and England there is a very clear distinction made between types of higher educational institutions. The complex institution, particularly as we know it in the large universities of the Midwest, does not exist in these countries, nor is "university status" accorded to such specialized schools as teachers colleges, art schools, and the like. In England there are 24 institutions, with enrollments totaling 100,000 students, which are accorded the status of "university"; in Germany 36 institutions with 160,000 students. This article deals only with the financial assistance activities affecting students in these higher level educational institutions.

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In England and Germany, the path leading to university entrance is, even in the broadest sense, different from our own. Although crucial decisions made by the student and the schools some years away from college may not guarantee admission, they certainly can preclude it. These and other factors cause the pool of students from which the college-going and the college-aided groups are drawn to be smaller and more highly selected than in our own country.

The demand for university education in relation to its supply in both countries makes our problems seem indeed small. The factors creating this demand are both social and economic in the case of England, whereas in Germany they are primarily economic. There is no such thing as a private university in either country, nor is there much evidence (except for the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge) that previous or current philanthropies carry anything but a token share of operating costs. This will probably not ever change.

The relative pricing of education, coupled with the national philosophy toward educational opportunity, produces interesting contrasts in financial aid needs and practices in the two countries. In England, opportunity for higher education has supposedly been equalized through grants; in Germany, minimal pricing has been used. Providing equal opportunity for higher education is not a new idea with the Germans; it is, however, with the English.

Their systems of administration and control of universities also present interesting contrasts. In England the financing of institutions of university level is the direct responsibility of the nation's Exchequer; the financing of students is a responsibility of the Ministry of Education, and of local governmental bodies under the Ministry's broad policy control. The Germans finance their universities from state rather than national treasuries, but depend upon the Federal Republic to provide most of the money for scholarships and administer them through special private agencies.

### *Universities disdain control*

In neither country do the universities themselves want control of financial aid activities. In both countries it is felt that the university should be solely concerned with teaching and research, and the university's administrative interest is limited only to these functions. Even so, much of the burden of administration falls on faculties or individual teachers. European education has not become another victim of Parkinson's law of proliferating bureaucracy. Needs of individuals beyond strictly "academic" or "intellectual" ones are met in various ways, occasionally within the university by autonomous groups (like the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, or student union groups), or outside the university by religious and public or private welfare agencies, civic organizations, and government.

Differences between England and America and similarities between Germany and America in financial aid

matters can be seen to result from the functions which higher education seems to serve, at least in the minds of the people, in each culture. In England one gets the impression that university education is an end in itself, while in Germany and America education is quite clearly only a means to an end—and a materialistic end at that. England is not materialistic in this respect; an English university education does not necessarily assure a better paying position, but rather more interesting work and perhaps unusual prestige.

In discussing the specific financial aid activities in the three different cultures of England, Germany, and America, it may be helpful to use some specific categories for purposes of comparison which are timely and familiar to American readers. These are loans, or, as I call them, credit practices; the philosophy and procedures for adjusting the amounts of aid awarded according to need; and uniformity in services and practices within each nation.

Let us first consider the ways in which loans and other forms of credit are used in the three countries. In America, the growth of educational credit has resulted from a myriad of causes. However, it seems to be growing more as an extension of very widespread commercial practices than for any other single reason.

In England, the use of personal credit for university education must be assumed to be nonexistent. Loan funds which are known to exist in very small amounts in at least some of the universities are used only for emergencies. There does not appear to be any interest in promoting the idea of educational self-support, which might in itself motivate the use of credit. The flow of money to students is copious (of 21,000 university entrants last year, 19,000 had substantial grants). Work by students is officially discouraged. The financial outlook for students in the years beyond college is not such as to support any enthusiasm on their part for credit, or even to suggest that it would be economically sound for them to consider it. In England the university system is under tight economic control by the government, and expansion is planned only as necessary, to accommodate in the future the same percentage of the total college-age group that now attends—about 3 to 5 per cent. A young person may wish to obtain a university education, but may not be able to unless he is approved within the governmental system of education. Once approved, he receives substantial material support. Interest in educational credit will develop in England only if the educational system expands beyond the government's ability to support it, and if, in the long run, the student can see a chance for substantial material gain from his education. Since it is very unlikely that either of these will ever happen, there is an unlikely future for student credit in England.

The Germans are more familiar with credit practices. They have completely rebuilt their economy on credit and, as a country, are emerging as a major credit resource in Europe. Individual freedom, initiative, and material gain are their motivating forces. From the time of the postwar reopening of the universities until 1957, there was a sizable educational loan program in existence. However, as the economy improved and student work opportunities became more numerous, interest in loans declined. When a federal scholarship program was established in 1957 there was a further decline in the use of loans. Students under the federal scholarship program are still required to borrow half of their assistance in their last year of education. Other students, unless they are physically handicapped or wish to spend their long vacations in travel or in other nonremunerative pursuits, can earn considerable amounts of money and have turned away from borrowing for their education.

The hope of the substantial material gain to be obtained with higher education encourages students to accept many of the severe conditions existing in the universities. By means of scholarships and loans, higher education is accessible to all able students in Germany, as seems to be true also in America—not to a selected few, which seems to be the case in England. A national scholarship program is available to the ablest 20 per cent in German universities. The scholarships do not cover all expenses so that students must borrow to supplement them in their last year. This program was established to keep the ablest from working, supposedly to the detriment of their studies, which in European universities are supposed to be pursued year-round. Credit opportunities have existed since the postwar re-establishment of the universities. However, the introduction of a scholarship program in 1957 has brought a temporary halt to educational loan activity. I stress "temporary," however, for I feel that in time loans will reappear.

**Seen at first hand**

First-hand knowledge of the systems of university student aid that are characterized in this article was gained by Mr. Moon in traveling to England and Germany last May with Gene D. Gisburne, chairman of the College Scholarship Service committee and vice president for student affairs at the University of Pennsylvania. The two CSS officials made the trip in order to obtain a better perspective on aid practices in the United States.

In the three cultures of America, England, and Germany, it would seem that the attitudes toward credit to be used for a university education are in some way or other related to each country's national philosophy of educational opportunity, the material rewards to be obtained within the country as a result of higher education, the social mobility which education assures, the extent of individual self-determination encouraged by the educational system and/or the culture, the relationship between the consumer's purchasing power and the cost of educational services, and the availability of more attractive substitutes, such as part-time or vacation work, scholarship grants, and so on.

*How need is weighed*

Let us next review how these three countries compare in their philosophy and procedures for considering need in awarding student financial aid. The need philosophy in financial aid is not a new one. It is as old as are financial aid practices in education. The thoroughness and consistency of its application has varied in America in response to a changing set of educational and noneducational needs. Historically, the so-called honor scholarship in America is a product of the late nineteenth century. Before that time, aid to students was welfare in every sense of the word. When American institutions of higher education became prestige-conscious, competitive, and interested in candidates other than those with strictly intellectual attributes, a new era in financial aid to students began. To explain these nonintellectual aspects of our higher educational system, and particularly their effects on our aid activities, to a European is as difficult as trying to explain to an American the European view of the role of university education. A glimmer of understanding might appear at the colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, but beyond these, none could be expected. The European university is dedicated to the intellectual life—period.

Financial aid in England and Germany is more or less a government activity, so it is not surprising to find the need formula, that is, financial awards based on need according to a specific formula, an important feature of their aid programs. There are social and economic reasons for this. The English pricing system has acted to guarantee socio-economic sterility in higher education, but in the Education Act of 1944 a long-expressed desire to equalize opportunity at the university level was given form and substance. This Act produced the present grants program, which now supports virtually all students in higher education. A need formula was introduced into the Act to assure equal opportunity, and there is a strong feeling that it has served well its purpose.

Though no one seems to know the origin of the present formula, which "takes" from both family income and, modestly, from assets (but not from the student), it may be assumed that a combination of efforts went into it. Periodic revisions are made in the formula by a group appointed by the Minister of Education. Local variations in its application are allowed, but in general there is good continuity in its application. The English people are not completely happy with the need formula; since so many students are now aided there is a feeling among some groups that education should be free. But there is no thought of making education universal.

The Germans also have a need formula, adopted in 1957. Whether it had predecessors or not, it does not seem to have arisen from a need for equalizing opportunity, as did England's need formula. University education in Germany is not as highly priced in relation to the consumers' purchasing power as is the case in England and even in America. To understand the German attitude toward financial aid to students, one needs to remember the European stress on intellectual life in the universities with each student being responsible for his own study throughout the year. It appeared that the best students were working to pay their bills, and this, it was assumed, detracted from their studies. The financial aid program based on need was instituted so that the ablest would not have to work. The students still work, however, and the Lambrettas outside the German universities (which substitute for and almost outnumber the bikes outside English institutions of higher learning) indicate that either the students' pay is good or their working hours very long. The need formula as applied in German universities assures that aid is not given needlessly, rather than necessarily assuring equal educational opportunity.

Let us now see how uniform within each of the three countries its aid services and practices may be. Amer-

### A beginning in Britain

"Seven Cambridge colleges, including Trinity and Churchill, have jointly devised an entrance plan which ought to please candidates and their headmasters by cutting down the number of applications, examinations, and testimonials required. Candidates have only to write to the college of their first choice among the seven and if unsuccessful their papers are passed to the college of their second preference and so on. The written examination will be taken at the candidate's own schools—as is the way with the science entrance papers for the Oxford women's colleges—which should cut out some unnecessary travelling by people who are not really up to standard. By holding the entrance and scholarship examination at the same time, the bad practice of attempting to gain ordinary entrance by using the scholarship machinery should be discouraged. It is a useful reform, which headmasters should welcome, even if it covers only seven colleges. If the scheme works well, however, we should expect to see other college groups form in Cambridge. Anything that limits the laborious and intimidating business of getting into a university in these days is a good thing. It dissuades headmasters from supporting desperate remedies like clearing houses."

—*The Times* (London) *Educational Supplement*, September 11, 1959.

ica's institutions of higher education are unique in their coveting of the so-called student personnel services. There is no other university system in the world where the student is so thoroughly provided for by the institutions themselves. The financial aid field is no exception. Since our institutions are quite different one from the other, and these differences are reflected in everything the institution does, the student often finds a perplexing variation in financial aid practices as he approaches higher education. There is a limited continuity in our colleges' aid practices, in that most of them have loans, scholarships, and jobs. Beyond this, we can make few generalizations because of the heterogeneity of our institutions and the freedom from restraint which they enjoy, particularly in financial aid matters.

England and Germany have achieved far greater intra-national continuity in aid practices than we have, but have had to move aid services outside the institutions to do so. The backbone of the English aid system is the Local Educational Authority (LEA), the final local unit for educational administration and financial support. It differs from our school boards in that it is a branch of local government and has broader responsibilities. Financial support comes from local rates (taxes) and the national government, at a ratio of about 40 to 60.

### *England's local awards*

There are currently 146 LEA's under whose jurisdiction fall most educational institutions in the British Isles—from nursery schools to specialized institutions at the post-grammar school level, *except* for the universities. The latter are governed by self-perpetuating boards, and receive almost all of their financial support from the Exchequer through the Grants Committee. The bulk of educational grants for university attendance—almost 80 per cent—are made by the LEA's. These are made to students living under the LEA's jurisdiction, no matter whether the student's preparatory schooling has been in or out of the district, in public or grammar school, and irrespective of which university the student has selected. The LEA's operate under broad directives as to policy and procedure, issued by the Minister of Education. The student is considered for a grant to cover his need if he has been accepted at a university, and only when funds are very limited will the LEA's use additional criteria for determining who should receive aid.

The LEA Grants are determined by the family's ability to pay in relation to the expenses of the institution to be attended. In addition, a vacation allowance is given which is substantial enough to make employment unnecessary for the normal five months of vacation, a period during which students are encouraged to study or travel. Earnings from employment are supposed to reduce the size of grants, though these are not noted closely by most LEA's. Student work is on the increase despite the system's antipathy to it. The LEA Grants system is now under study by a national committee. Apparently even in as generous a system as this there can be discontent.

The balance of student assistance in England stems from three sources: the Ministry of Education, in the form of about 2,000 honor scholarships or need supplements to honor awards (at the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge); honor scholarships, with small stipends, given at Oxford and Cambridge; and a multitude of small funds from civic, social, religious, and industrial groups, to help individuals inadequately covered or not provided for at all under the Grants system. In the institutions of university level specializing in technical training, the Colleges of Advanced Technology, the so-called "sandwich" courses taken by most of the students serve an important financial aid purpose; these are what we call cooperative or work-study programs, in which students spend alternate periods in study and employment. The two most unusual features in the English system are the local administrative control by the community over grants and the number of students being aided.

German higher education has gone through a number of dramatic changes, caused mainly by political upheaval and war destruction, in the last 30 years. Actually the institutions per se were less affected by these occurrences than was the organization and administration of the higher educational system itself. From 1932 to 1945, higher education was nationalized; from 1945 to 1949, little higher education existed; since 1949, higher education has been returned to the individual states for support and control. Higher education is public in our sense of the word, that is, financed from public funds. The German university is essentially concerned with two things: teaching and research. Within the universities there is very little central administration. The student's mind belongs to the faculty, his soul and body are problems for others.

As a result, various groups that have grown up beside but not as part of the universities attempt to serve these non-intellectual needs of the student. Most noteworthy and influential among them are the 48 *Deutsches Studentenwerk* organizations (student welfare groups), which minister to the physical, financial, and social needs of the university student. From 1932 to 1945, the period of national socialism, they were centrally controlled, but are now once more operated independently. These agencies are nonprofit and self-supporting; they derive their income from the sale of services, student dues, rentals, and benefactions. For lobbying, advisory, and intercommunication purposes, they are organized into a federation with headquarters in Bonn. Their role is not unlike that of the student affairs departments of our own universities, except that they exist outside the universities and are remarkably free of their influence.

Such educational financial assistance as exists in Germany is, with few exceptions, administered by the individual *Studentenwerk*—most notably this includes the federal scholarship program (known as the "Honnefer Model") and the federal aid for refugee students program. Located near the universities and having complex facil-

ities, the *Studentenwerk* can offer students a diversity of aid opportunities —jobs, dormitory remissions, grants through benefactions, free meals, food, clothing, and so forth. About 35 per cent of the university students in Germany are receiving assistance in one form or another.

### *Germany's federal scholarships*

The Honnefer Model plan, which by law provides year-round "need" stipends to 20 per cent of the students, covers educational costs and travel and independent study expenses. In 1957 this program was introduced to minimize the amount of physical work which students were doing during formal instruction periods and vacations (presumably to the detriment of their studies). In their last year of study, students in this program must take a loan for half of their assistance.

Organized much like our National Defense Student Loan Program, the Honnefer Model has its policy matters settled by the government. Its funds are allocated to states on an enrollment basis, and are re-allocated to the *Deutsches Studentenwerk* organizations according to their stated needs and the funds available, with each *Studentenwerk* deciding which students will receive assistance and in what amounts.

The remaining 15 per cent of the students who are formally aided may receive a kind of national honors scholarship from a program having some similarity to the National Merit Scholarship Program, except that it is under federal control. The *Studentenwerk* groups may also provide an allowance for students' clothing, food, and rooms (particularly for refugee students), and as previously mentioned can offer some loans and special work opportunities as they run large placement offices for part-time work. Scholarship grants are also given by local civic, religious, industrial, and other groups operating through or outside the *Studentenwerk*. Certain professors may and do remit fees, for in some universities they are still paid on the basis of the number of students in their classes and have the option of robbing their own pockets to contribute to financial aid for their students. Here, in contrast to our system, the professor is the victim of his own generosity, not someone else's.

In conclusion, I will attempt a synthesis. Provided one has followed the prescribed educational path to university entrance, one finds that the barriers to higher education are largely intellectual in England, largely financial in America, and both intellectual and financial in Germany, though to a lesser degree. The qualified English student looks to the state and his local community for his financial support, and gets it; the American student counts on his parents and the colleges for help, and may or may not get it. The German student relies in part on his parents and in part on the government through the *Studentenwerk* organizations—but mainly on himself, for he, unlike the English or American student, enters the university not with any assurance of financial assistance, but rather with a conviction that he can work his way through if necessary.

Since I have an affinity for generalizations, I can't resist the opportunity to generalize further, though more tersely than I have thus far. In England and Germany, in contrast to America, financial assistance to students is largely a matter of public responsibility. The English aid system, in contrast to those of America and Germany, operates most conveniently for the student and his parents. The American system puts the greatest emphasis on credit; the German system ranks a poor second, with real possibilities for growth; and the English system ranks last with little prospect of any growth in student credit financing of higher education.

In England and Germany financial assistance is not confounded by problems of intercollege competition, honor versus welfare, and public approbation of nonintellectual campus accomplishments as in America. The use of a single need formula, as the basis for determining the *amount* of help given, is firmly established in England and Germany, and is growing in practice here. The use of a standard need formula to decide *who* will be helped is firmly established in England, less so in Germany, and far from realization here.

The public's involvement in decisions affecting financial aid matters is greatest in England, less so in Germany, and of little significance at present in America.

### *Generous to an elite*

Though the structures of university systems are markedly different from one culture to the next, the basic purposes of financial assistance activities for students are much the same. The extent to which specific educational practices can be realistically transferred from one culture to another depends less on the educational systems themselves than on the social, economic, and political forces in the cultures.

An educational system can force high living standards upon its students to the extent that these, rather than educational costs or intellectual requirements, become the principal barrier to education.

Elite educational systems such as those of Germany and England can achieve maximum uniformity in financial aid practices, can be magnanimous in their subventions, and can thoroughly acquaint the general public with available opportunities for financial assistance. Elite educational systems are cheaper to operate, but are far more restrictive of human freedom, social mobility, and opportunity. They tend to be the least responsive to changing national and international circumstances and therefore may be the least effective in a modern dynamic society. Societies which offer the greatest material rewards for education can maintain the broadest higher educational system at the least public expense, but at the maximum individual expense.

Finally, a culture which encourages free enterprise must remember that its administrative practices in education can influence the thinking of its student citizenry as much as the classroom instruction it provides for them.

BY J. SAMUEL JONES AND
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# *Finding $20,000 more for scholarships*

**By justly expecting a scholarship student to provide $100 more than in the past, M.I.T. can offer 30 new grants averaging tuition**

Student aid is desperately caught in the center of economic forces affecting every phase of the financial life of higher education.

True, scholarship funds have grown, help is coming in from foundations, business, industry, government, and alumni. Loan funds and their use have increased remarkably. Employment of college and pre-college youngsters, both public and on-campus, has held up and their wages have increased along with adult wages. Dimes have sprouted where pennies once grew.

But if scholarship, loan, and job pennies have increased to dimes, costs seem to have increased just a little bit more. Tuition is up everywhere and board and room prices have increased, and still faculties grumble and wince as salaries lose ground.

The philosophy of distributing financial aid according to the student's and parents' ability to pay seemed to be an excellent idea 10 years ago. It was still excellent five years ago when the College Scholarship Service was organized. It is now, however, an imperative idea. Without such a philosophy, and the tools of data collection and analysis which have been evolved to put it into practice, educational opportunity at those institutions where high costs prevail would be limited disproportionately to the wealthy few, plus a scattering representation of the poor who also do well in sports.

By spending no more than a dollar in aid where no less than a dollar is really needed, CSS colleges have in effect pulled students and their parents into the game of keeping the door of opportunity open. Parents do their assigned share either by paying in full, or by paying what they can, subsequent to submitting to an intimate, searching questionnaire—the Parents' Confidential Statement—without which the relative need of applicants for aid simply could not be realistically analyzed. With such an analysis, it is possible to disburse funds with at least some assurance that the student is being helped to pay for his education rather than, for example, automobiles and similar frills.

As we look back over the recent history of the financial aid business, it is perhaps striking how many parental preconceptions and prejudices have gone down the drain. Most parents feeling pinched have, without complaint, revealed to college scholarship offices their financial circumstances, and their marital, health, and business problems—intimacies of quite a private nature. More and more families accept, even welcome, the idea of going into debt for an education. Many have come around to the view that "dipping into capital" is good sense when term bills fall due.

And yet, it must constantly be asked, are all parties doing enough? The colleges recognize their own responsibilities—get more funds! Fathers and mothers are usually thought of next—dig deeper!

Until recently, however, the tendency has been to take the student himself and his own resources somewhat for granted.

For some time, according to the general CSS "formula," the maximum usually required of the freshman applicant was $325—$200 from one summer's employment, and one-fourth of

Colleges have pulled families into the game of keeping opportunity open

*Table 1. Pre-freshman summer*[a]

| *Percentile*[b] | *Net earnings* |
|---|---|
| 25 | $160 |
| 50 (Median) | $330 |
| 75 | $480 |
| *Average* | $340 |

[a] Of 856 men students in the classes of 1960, 1961, and 1962.
[b] The percentile of 25 indicates that 25 per cent of the students earned $160 or less, and similarly for the percentiles of 50 and 75.

his savings up to $500. But the 1958-59 edition of the CSS *Computation Manual* carried a suggested change to $800 or $1,000 of self-help (pages 24-25; the $800 or $1,000 figure is understood to include term-time earnings as well). As it must, CSS offers such suggestions in the form of reporting in an informal way what "some" colleges are doing. Nevertheless, the self-help suggestion had within it at least one intriguing, perhaps new idea.

This was to fix arbitrarily a sum for expected student savings, whether or not reported on the PCS or elsewhere. Since financial aid officers are rather arbitrary about summer earnings, one could argue, why not be equally arbitrary about previous earnings and savings therefrom? Why not, in short, really look into the subject of what young people can and should do for themselves? Are the old round sums of $150 and $250 for summer earnings outmoded by inflation? Do many youngsters earn more, and shouldn't most of those who don't earn more, attempt to do so?

True, once the applicant registers and gets committed, the pressures for self-help are apt to grow more rather than less intense. And as the intensity increases, the student finds the necessary counsel in the financial aid office.

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Summer jobs are stressed, as is the use of savings and the merits of campus employment, and (where reticence had formerly prevailed) the availability and attractiveness of student loans.

But in that springtime of soul and body-searching when the high school senior casts his bread upon the collegiate waters, and scholarship and admissions officers in their own way do likewise, the subject of student self-help—how much has already been earned and saved, and how much more will be earned and saved before the happy day of freshman registration—may tend to be somewhat muted.

Why is it important to see if standards for student self-help might be raised? Colleges have only so much money to spend on scholarships (and loans), and the demands increase in both numbers and amounts each year. One hundred dollars saved on each of 200 or more aid offers adds up to $20,000 or $25,000, or enough for 15 or 20 additional, sizable awards.

### *$500 expected*

This is a reasonably powerful argument, and it will have occurred to many if not most scholarship officers, depending on their individual circumstances. Whether or not the idea has been put into practice, however, and where, is quite another thing. For whether it is palatable or not, colleges face a competitive market, and hence must deal with the old market truism—it's not what you ask for, it's what you can get. In short, quality must be served as well as budgets.

This past year, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has moved in the direction of more exacting self-help requirements, as suggested in the *Computation Manual*. Since it was not practicable at first to ascertain just what the separate norms should be for summer earnings and for savings, it was decided that it would not be unreasonable to start with the lower aggregate of $800 in self-help as suggested in the *Manual*. Subtracting $300 which could be covered by campus employment, a required figure of $500 covering summer earnings and/or student savings was decided upon.

Obviously, the result of such a requirement for the applicant with no savings is simply to put additional pressure on him, or his parents, or

"Overburdened" refrain is exaggeration

both. Equally obvious, however, is the question, "Is this a fair thing to do?"

This question of fairness can be dealt with in general terms. Many youngsters today earn appreciable amounts all through high school; some start even earlier. A good many save their earnings. Some, however, do not, and sink everything into automobiles and the like. Some youngsters neither work nor save. So the question of fairness cuts two ways. Accepting the force of this argument, the conviction grows that the non-saver should not casually be excused because, if he were, he would receive substantially more than others who have been more forethoughtful and provident. Thus, the standard for the non-saver ought to be the one established for the saver, with exceptions allowed only in documented cases of hardship.

The trickier question, assuming of course that special cases can be identified and given special treatment, is whether or not it is practicable to ex-

*Table 2. Earnings and savings*[a]

| *Percentile*[b] | *Earnings* | *Savings* |
|---|---|---|
| 25 | $140 | $ 0 |
| 50 (Median) | $360 | $160 |
| 75 | $760 | $380 |
| *Average* | $592 | $307 |

[a] Of 950 men students in the class of 1963; earnings are for the summer before entrance, and savings do not include these pre-freshman summer earnings.
[b] The percentile of 25 indicates that 25 per cent of the students earned $140 or less, and similarly for the percentiles of 50 and 75 for savings as well as earnings.

pect more from student and family when the effect is simply to require still more from already heavily burdened parents. It would be futile to adopt means to create more awards if the result were to drive people out of the market.

In the face of these considerations, the M.I.T. needs analysis for prospective freshmen last year (class of 1963) was predicated in the great majority of cases on a fixed $500 self-help item, generally independent of the parental contribution. It is estimated that the resulting stretching in scholarship funds amounted to some $35,000 to $40,000 in our particular program, or about 30 additional grants averaging tuition.

### *Experiment works*

As it turned out, the gamble paid off —no drop in quality and a gain in acceptances. As a matter of fact, the outcome was fairly certain for a number of reasons. For one thing, notice was taken, for example, of the rise in hourly wage rates in the years since the $150-$250 standard was established for summer earnings. Secondly, it was recognized that the crucial figure of "Family Income" in the PCS, being an *estimate*, tends to be lower than the subsequent *actual* income. Finally, prior studies had tended to show that applicants who registered without M.I.T. financial assistance were often recipients of aid from local, regional, even national sources, and/or from relatives, and the like, of which no mention is made on the PCS. In other words, there seems to have been a tendency to derive concern for parental plight from incomplete data, from estimates before the fact, and to lose sight of the positive factors inherent in the inflationary spiral.

It was felt, therefore, that the rhetoric of the "overburdened family" had become just a little exaggerated. Parenthetically, however, it should be added that M.I.T.'s principal competitors were, in the main, apprised of the change, and mutual offers were in a few cases consequently adjusted.[1]

We come now to the question of fact. What do the records of M.I.T. undergraduates show with respect to summer and previous part-time earnings, and to savings? Turning to the files, we examined budgets for actual reported net earnings for the summer *prior* to the freshman year. On hand were the applications for sophomore scholarships (which contain this particular datum), for the classes of 1960, '61, and '62. Table 1 summarizes these findings.

Table 1 shows that the typical pre-freshman nets almost $100 more from his summer employment prior to registration than the stipulated $250 requirement. These results did not appear to vary significantly with geographic-population density indices.

Secondly, we looked at pre-freshman summer earnings and at prior earned savings for the class of 1963, the class required to meet the new $500 self-help standard. The results are given in Table 2. In addition to the typical net summer earnings for pre-freshmen of $330 (shown in Table 1), Table 2 shows a median of $160 in savings. Adding these indicates that there is about $500 of self-help available in the standard case.

Going further, we find in following up on the actual reported net summer earnings for sophomores and juniors the results given in Table 3. The median earnings of $430 and $440 in the pre-sophomore and pre-junior summers that are shown in Table 3 are considerably higher than the $330 pre-freshman summer median.

Summarizing the ranges and amounts of both earnings and savings for the three classes, we discover that the total self-help available up to the junior year is as shown in Table 4. It may be seen from the table that the typical case averages out to $1,360 of self-help, exclusive of loans and term-time earnings, or $453 for each of the first three years of college. For the top 25 per cent of the cases the annual figure is $707, while the overall average is $519 for each of the first three years at M.I.T.

### *On target*

It seems reasonable to conclude from the foregoing that a uniform, if arbitrary, requirement of $500 of so-called self-help is not far off the target. Perhaps $400 would be a more generous figure, but there seems to be no very compelling argument for the lower figure, taking into consideration the state of the national and especially the educational economy.

It may be thought that, after all, M.I.T. and its undergraduates represent a very special case—that the technologically oriented youngster obviously has skills which mature earlier and faster and which tend to produce more and higher paying jobs. Accord-

*Table 3. Post-freshman summers*[a]

| *Percentile*[b] | *Net earnings* |
|---|---|
| PRE-SOPHOMORE SUMMER | |
| 25 | $270 |
| 50 (Median) | $430 |
| 75 | $600 |
| *Average* | $440 |
| PRE-JUNIOR SUMMER | |
| 25 | $270 |
| 50 | $440 |
| 75 | $660 |
| *Average* | $470 |

[a] Of 595 men students for the pre-sophomore summer and 292 men students for the pre-junior summer.

[b] The percentile of 25 indicates that 25 per cent of the students earned $270 or less, and similarly for the percentiles of 50 and 75.

*Table 4. Total self-help available*

| | *Based on medians* | *Based on 75th percentiles* | *Based on averages* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Savings[a] | $ 160 | $ 380 | $ 307 |
| Summer earnings: | | | |
| Pre-freshman | $ 330 | $ 480 | $ 340 |
| Pre-sophomore | 430 | 600 | 440 |
| Pre-junior | 440 | 660 | 470 |
| *Total* | $1,360 | $2,120 | $1,557 |

[a] Not including the pre-freshman summer earnings.

[1] As described in "Equalizing scholarship opportunities," by Wallace McDonald, *College Board Review*, No. 33, p. 29.

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ing to M.I.T. records, this is not necessarily the case. The actual patterns of types of jobs held were apparently quite random—running from paper routes and baby-sitting in the early years to camp-counseling, table-waiting, and general labor jobs toward the later years. If the type of student attending M.I.T. has any such advantage in the employment market, it does not generally appear earlier than the end of the junior year. The records show only estimates and anticipations from that time on.

The number of cases in the foregoing tables constitute a large sample of the M.I.T. student body. Nevertheless, the sample is limited to one institution and these findings are therefore meant only to suggest and to illustrate, rather than to prove and to conclude.[2] However, given the broad geographic dispersion of the M.I.T. student body, it seems likely that similar studies by other institutions should yield results tending to sustain the conclusions we reached.

### *Equity with vigilance*

To review, then, it is felt that a good case can be made for holding the lower half of scholarship applicants (measured according to earnings and savings) to self-help standards set by the upper half. Secondly, it seems reasonable to raise standards, including that for summer earnings, because of specific inflationary effects heretofore somewhat ignored. Thirdly, M.I.T.'s decision to effect this change, to require specifically $500 of self-help in all but hardship cases, appears to have been justified.

In closing, let us be reminded that no one wishes or intends to deprive any prospective student of his merited opportunity. We shall all be concerned in fact to maintain and expand that opportunity—to increase our funds, and to strive for a student body as representative as the ability of applicants permits. But to do this, constant attention must be paid to the data, to the tools of analysis, and to the preconceptions and assumptions upon which we all operate.

[2]The sample is also limited to men students. The number of women undergraduates at M.I.T. is quite small and hence unrepresentative.

## *College Board member colleges*

Check (✓) indicates participants in the College Scholarship Service. Dot (•) indicates subscribers to the May 18 Candidates Reply Date Agreement for 1960. An asterisk (*) following a college's name means scholarship candidates are excepted from the Candidates Reply Date Agreement; a triangle (△) means single-choice, "early decision" candidates are excepted from the Agreement; a dot in a circle (⊙) indicates colleges elected to membership at the Board meeting on October 28.

**Member colleges**

- • ✓ Adelphi College*△
- • ✓ Agnes Scott College△
- • ✓ Albertus Magnus College*△
- • ✓ Alfred University
- ✓ Allegheny College
- • American International College*
- ✓ Amherst College
- • Annhurst College*△
- • ✓ Antioch College*△
- • ✓ Assumption College*△
- Augustana College (Ill.)⊙
- • ✓ Bard College
- • ✓ Barnard College△
- • Barry College△⊙
- ✓ Bates College
- • ✓ Beaver College*△
- ✓ Beloit College
- Bennett College (N. Y.)⊙
- • ✓ Bennington College
- • Bethany College (W. Va.)⊙
- ✓ Boston College
- ✓ Boston University
- ✓ Bowdoin College
- ✓ Brandeis University
- Brooklyn College⊙
- • ✓ Brown University
- • ✓ Bryn Mawr College△
- ✓ Bucknell University
- • Caldwell College*
- • ✓ California Institute of Technology
- Canisius College⊙
- ✓ Carleton College
- ✓ Carnegie Institute of Technology
- ✓ Carroll College (Wis.)
- ✓ Case Institute of Technology
- • Catholic University of America*△
- ✓ Cedar Crest College
- ✓ Centre College of Kentucky
- Charlotte College⊙
- • ✓ Chatham College△
- • ✓ Chestnut Hill College*△
- City College of New York
- • ✓ Claremont Men's College
- ✓ Clark University (Mass.)
- ✓ Clarke College (Iowa)⊙
- • ✓ Clarkson College of Technology*
- ✓ Coe College
- • Coker College*△
- • ✓ Colby College*
- ✓ Colgate University
- • College Misericordia*△⊙
- • ✓ College of Mount Saint Vincent*△
- • ✓ College of New Rochelle*△
- ✓ College of Notre Dame of Maryland
- College of Saint Elizabeth
- • College of Saint Rose*
- College of the Holy Cross
- • College of the Sacred Heart*△⊙ (Santurce, Puerto Rico)
- • College of William and Mary*
- ✓ College of Wooster
- • ✓ Colorado College*△
- • ✓ Columbia College (N. Y.)
- • ✓ Connecticut College△
- Converse College
- • Cooper Union
- ✓ Cornell College
- • ✓ Cornell University△
- • ✓ Dartmouth College△
- ✓ Davidson College
- • ✓ Denison University
- ✓ DePauw University
- ✓ Dickinson College
- • ✓ Douglass College
- ✓ Drew University
- ✓ Duke University
- • Dunbarton College of Holy Cross*
- • ✓ D'Youville College*
- ✓ Earlham College⊙
- Elmira College
- • Emerson College
- • ✓ Emmanuel College
- ✓ Emory University
- • ✓ Fordham College*△
- ✓ Franklin and Marshall College
- • ✓ Furman University
- ✓ Georgetown University
- • George Washington University
- Georgia Institute of Technology
- • ✓ Georgian Court College*
- ✓ Gettysburg College
- ✓ Gonzaga University
- • ✓ Goucher College△
- ✓ Grinnell College
- ✓ Hamilton College
- Hampden-Sydney College
- Hartwick College⊙
- • ✓ Harvard College
- • ✓ Harvey Mudd College⊙
- • ✓ Haverford College
- • ✓ Hobart College and William Smith College*△
- • ✓ Hofstra College
- • ✓ Hollins College△
- Hood College
- • ✓ Immaculata College*
- • ✓ Immaculate Heart College*
- • ✓ Iona College*△

• ✓ Jackson College for Women△
Johns Hopkins University
✓ Juniata College◎
Kalamazoo College
✓ Kenyon College
Keuka College
✓ Knox College
• ✓ Lafayette College*△
• ✓ Lake Erie College
• ✓ Lake Forest College△
La Salle College
✓ Lawrence College
✓ Lebanon Valley College
• ✓ Lehigh University
• ✓ Lewis and Clark College
Loretto Heights College◎
• Loyola University (La.)*△
• Loyola University of Los Angeles*△
✓ Lycoming College
• ✓ Manhattan College△
• ✓ Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart△
Marquette University
✓ Mary Baldwin College
• ✓ Marymount College (N. Y.)*△
Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia
• ✓ Marywood College*△
• ✓ Massachusetts Institute of Technology
• McGill University (Canada)
• Menlo College
• Mercer University
Meredith College◎
Miami University (Ohio)◎
✓ Michigan State University
• ✓ Middlebury College*△
• ✓ Mills College
Milwaukee-Downer College◎
✓ Monmouth College (Ill.)◎
Moravian College
• ✓ Mount Holyoke College△
Mount Mercy College◎
• Mount St. Agnes College*△
• ✓ Mount St. Mary's College (Calif.)*
✓ Muhlenberg College
• Mundelein College*◎
✓ Muskingum College
Nazareth College of Rochester
• Newark College of Engineering
• ✓ Newcomb College of Tulane University*△
• ✓ Newton College of the Sacred Heart
✓ New York University
• North Carolina State College*
• ✓ Northeastern University*
✓ Northwestern University
• ✓ Norwich University*△
• ✓ Notre Dame College of Staten Island*△
• ✓ Occidental College
✓ Ohio Wesleyan University
• Pacific Lutheran College◎
• ✓ Pembroke College in Brown University△
✓ Pennsylvania State University
• ✓ Pomona College
C. W. Post College◎
Presbyterian College
• ✓ Princeton University
✓ Providence College
✓ Queens College (N. C.)
• ✓ Radcliffe College△
Randolph-Macon College◎
• ✓ Randolph-Macon Woman's College
• ✓ Reed College
• ✓ Regis College (Mass.)
• ✓ Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute
Rice Institute
✓ Ripon College
• Roanoke College△◎
✓ Rockford College◎
• ✓ Rollins College*
• Rosary College
• ✓ Rosary Hill College*
• ✓ Rosemont College*△
✓ Rose Polytechnic Institute
Russell Sage College
• ✓ Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey
• ✓ St. Bernard College*△◎
• ✓ Saint Joseph College (Conn.)△
• ✓ Saint Joseph College (Md.)*
✓ Saint Joseph's College (Pa.)
• St. Joseph's College for Women*
✓ St. Lawrence University
• ✓ Saint Mary's College (Ind.)*
• Saint Mary's Dominican College*◎
Saint Michael's College (Vt.)
Saint Vincent College◎
• ✓ Salem College (N. C.)*△
• ✓ Sarah Lawrence College△
• ✓ Scripps College
• ✓ Seton Hill College*△
• Shorter College (Ga.)
• ✓ Simmons College
• ✓ Skidmore College△
• ✓ Smith College△
Southern Methodist University◎
✓ Southwestern at Memphis
✓ Springfield College
• ✓ Stanford University
✓ Stetson University
• ✓ Stevens Institute of Technology
• ✓ Swarthmore College
• ✓ Sweet Briar College△
• ✓ Syracuse University
Temple University
✓ Thiel College
✓ Transylvania College◎
✓ Trinity College (Conn.)†
• ✓ Trinity College (D. C.)*△
• Trinity University*△◎
• ✓ Tufts College of Tufts University△
• ✓ Tulane University*△
✓ Union College (N. Y.)
• United States Air Force Academy◎
• United States Merchant Marine Academy
• United States Military Academy
United States Naval Academy
University of California
• ✓ University of Chicago△
• University of Colorado
University of Connecticut
University of Denver
University of Georgia
✓ University of Maine
✓ University of Massachusetts
• ✓ University of Michigan△
University of North Carolina
University of Notre Dame
• ✓ University of Pennsylvania
✓ University of Pittsburgh
• ✓ University of Puget Sound
• ✓ University of Redlands
• ✓ University of Rhode Island*
• ✓ University of Rochester△
• ✓ University of San Francisco
University of Santa Clara
• ✓ University of Southern California
• ✓ University of the South
• ✓ University of Vermont
• University of Virginia△
• ✓ Upsala College*
✓ Ursinus College
✓ Valparaiso University
✓ Vanderbilt University
• ✓ Vassar College△
Villanova University
Virginia Military Institute◎
Virginia Polytechnic Institute◎
✓ Wabash College
• ✓ Wagner Lutheran College
✓ Washington College
• Washington University*◎
✓ Washington and Jefferson College
• ✓ Washington and Lee University*
• ✓ Wellesley College△
• ✓ Wells College△
• Wesleyan College (Ga.)*△
✓ Wesleyan University
• ✓ Western College for Women
• ✓ Western Reserve University
Westminster College (Mo.)◎
Wheaton College (Ill.)
• ✓ Wheaton College (Mass.)△
• Wheelock College*✓
• ✓ Whitman College
• ✓ Whittier College
• ✓ Willamette University
✓ Williams College
✓ Wilmington College (Ohio)
• ✓ Wilson College△
Woman's College of the University of North Carolina
• Worcester Polytechnic Institute
• ✓ Yale University
• ✓ Yeshiva University*△
Young Harris College◎

†Erroneously listed as 1960 subscriber to Candidates Reply Date Agreement in Fall 1959 *Review*.

**Non-member colleges participating in the College Scholarship Service**

Albion College
Alma College
Art Center School
Ashland College
Bethel College (Kan.)
Bradford Junior College
Bradley University
Capital University
Chapman College
Chouinard Art Institute
Colby Junior College
College of Emporia
College of Saint Scholastica
Drake University
Drexel Institute of Technology
Elizabethtown College
Fairleigh Dickinson University
Gannon College
Greenville College
Hiram College
Holy Family College (Pa.)
Howard College (Ala.)
Illinois College
Illinois Wesleyan University
Indiana University
John Carroll University
La Verne College
Lindenwood College
MacMurray College
Mills College of Education
Mount Union College
National College of Education
Niagara University
Oberlin College
Pennsylvania Military College
Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn
Pratt Institute
Rhode Island School of Design
St. John Fisher College
Saint John's College (Md.)
Saint Joseph's College (Ind.)
Saint Olaf College
Simpson College
University of Buffalo
University of Dubuque
University of Kansas City
University of Nebraska
University of New Hampshire
University of Toledo
Wake Forest College
Wayne State University
Westminster College (Pa.)
Wittenberg College
Wofford College

# *NEWS OF THE COLLEGE SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE*

## Schools join in conferences

***Regional series held:*** Reflecting wide interest on the part of secondary schools in college scholarship and financial aid practices, substantial numbers of schools were represented among those attending the regional conferences of the College Scholarship Service. The two-day meetings were scheduled for January and February. Officers of a number of colleges interested in CSS, as well as those from colleges that are formal CSS participants, attended the meetings.

Financial aid officers from 35 colleges and representatives of 38 schools took part in the New England regional conference, held at Brandeis University January 11-12. At subsequent meetings, the approximate college and school representations were as follows: *South,* January 18-19 at Duke University, 30 colleges, 50 schools; *Western Pennsylvania and Eastern Ohio,* January 25-26 at the University of Pittsburgh, 40 colleges, 60 schools; *Midwest,* February 8-9 at Northwestern University, 50 colleges, 30 schools; and *Middle Atlantic,* February 15-16 at Princeton, New Jersey, 60 colleges, 12 schools.

Two West Coast meetings were planned, one for February 18-19 in Claremont, California, and the other for February 22-23 in Portland, Oregon. Attendance at the two meetings together was expected to total 180 representatives from schools and colleges.

***Computation included:*** Programs for the regional conferences combined consideration of CSS affairs and discussion between school and college officers with instruction in CSS procedures for determining financial need. An address on CSS activities and plans followed by open discussion typically occupied the first morning of the meetings, while in the afternoon the college representatives gathered for "computation school" instruction. In the evening they met in informal discussion groups. After a second computation session the following morning, those from the colleges joined with school representatives for a luncheon program and afternoon panel discussions.

## Annual meeting set

***For October 25:*** Financial aid officers at participating colleges and guests representing other colleges and scholarship program sponsors will hold the next annual meeting of the Service on Tuesday, October 25, at a large midtown hotel in New York City. Two hundred fifty-one colleges had become CSS participants by the end of January (see list, page 33). Of the 251, 54 are not members of the College Board. The number of participants last year totalled 196 colleges and included 30 non-members.

## Volume jumps

***Up 52 per cent:*** Through the month of January, 32,033 parents had sent copies of the Parents' Confidential Statement form to the CSS as against 21,027 for the same period last year. The 52.4 per cent increase represented by these figures is the largest of its kind to be registered by the Service, which is now in its sixth year of operation. A similar increase in its second year was just under 50 per cent.

Factors contributing to the record increase in the use of the Service's basic instrument are the change from college to school distribution of the form that was introduced this fall, large increases in the numbers of colleges and applicants engaged in "early decision" plans, and steady increases in Service participation and financial aid offerings.

## To survey costs, unused grants

***Uses student budget table:*** Two surveys of its participating colleges are being made by the CSS. In the first, it is asking the colleges to show all costs of attendance on a standard student budget table in which detailed and comprehensive breakdowns for each program can be entered. In the second survey, it is requesting information on the numbers and value of any scholarships the colleges have which go unawarded because of limitations placed on the use of the funds by the donor.

A portion of the unused scholarships questionnaire also seeks information about the usefulness of the joint CSS poster sent to secondary schools each fall. Reports of the survey findings will be sent to all participants.

## Overlap lists available

***For college consultation:*** For groups of participating colleges that wish to consult on their financial aid offers to applicants applying for aid to two or more of the colleges, the CSS is providing lists that show, for each mutual applicant, his name, the number of his parents' financial statement form, and the colleges within the group to which copies of his statement have been sent.

In a memorandum to participants, the Service noted that many colleges are consulting each spring, informally or in formal groups, in order to equalize the aid offers made to mutual applicants and thus keep the student from being "distracted in his choice of college by varying offers of financial aid." The lists of mutual financial aid applicants are supplied on request without charge.

To help form new consulting groups, the CSS will investigate applicant overlap and report with which other colleges an interested college might consult.